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THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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BY THE
LIBRARIAN

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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS

THE present issue of the BULLETIN marks an epoch in the history of the John Rylands Library, seeing that it was on the 1st of January, 1900, that its doors were first opened to readers. It is true, as we have pointed out on another page, that the formal dedication ceremony took place on the preceding 6th of October, but the admission of readers had to be postponed until the beginning of the following year for administrative reasons. Consequently the actual opening synchronised with the dawn of the twentieth century.

THE LIBRARY'S COMING-OF-AGE.

In order to mark the attainment of our official majority, we have ventured to review, as briefly as possible, the history and work of the library during the twenty-one years which have elapsed since it entered upon its career.

We are often questioned as to the form and principles of construction of the new general catalogue of printed books, which is at present in course of preparation, and, in order to satisfy such inquiries, and at the same time give readers some insight into the process of cataloguing, we have ventured to include some notes "on the preparation and use of the catalogue" in the hope that it may facilitate its consultation by students.

USE OF THE CATALOGUE.

We have also had prepared by one of the assistant-keepers of manuscripts a brief hand-list of the Latin manuscripts which have been added to the library since the year 1908, with the object of revealing to students the importance of the additions which are constantly being made to our collections.

NEWLY ACQUIRED LATIN MANUSCRIPTS.

We have merely dealt with the Latin codices, leaving out of consideration the two thousand charters which have been acquired during the same period, many of which date back to the twelfth century. A

hand-list of these interesting documents is in active preparation, and will be printed as soon as practicable, but in the meantime any student interested in the study of such material may readily have access to the catalogue as far as it is completed.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MO-SO LANGUAGE.

In 1916 we recorded the acquisition of a collection of forty manuscripts of undetermined antiquity in the language of the Mo-so people, through the instrumentality of Mr. George Forrest, who had obtained them in the remote and little-known country of their origin. Early in 1917 Mr. Forrest again set out for the Far East, penetrating far into Thibet, and again passing through the Mo-so country, whence he returned a few months since, after an absence of nearly four years, bringing with him a further collection of these curiously shaped documents, numbering upwards of sixty pieces, which we have been able to add to the group already in the library.

The manuscripts are mostly oblong in shape, measuring about three inches in height by ten inches in width, and are written in picture characters, on a thick oriental paper of uneven texture, apparently brown with age.

The Mo-so are a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, but their stronghold, and the seat of their traditions, is the prefecture of Li-Kiang-fu, called in Thibetan "Sa-dam," and in Mo-so "Ye-gu," which is in the north-west of Yun-nan.

Travellers from the days of Marco Polo have made reference to this people, but until recent years no attempt has been made to deal with their history and language, probably because few scholars had penetrated to the remote region of their habitat. The first scientific monograph upon the subject was read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1908, by M. Cordier. In 1913 another scholar, M. J. Bacot, after a residence of several months in the Mo-so country, published an interesting study of the ethnography, religion, language, and writing of the people in which he was assisted by M. E. Chavannes, who was responsible for a translation and study of the texts, dealing with the genealogy of the King of Mo-so, who traces his descent to a line of kings that go back as far as the year 618.

The Mo-so language differs from the written language, which consists of pictographic, ideographic, and syllabic characters.

Many of the ideographic characters, M. Bacot tells us, are very

obscure. It is for that reason we attach considerable importance to an excellent key to one of the manuscripts, which Mr. Forrest was fortunately able to obtain through the services of a Chinese scholar, who was familiar with the people and their language, and also to another key in the shape of a Thibetan translation which is written over each pictograph or ideograph on a number of the leaves in one of the manuscripts belonging to the latest group.

The text of the translated manuscript is of a religious character, opening with a version of the creation story, and as far as we are able at present to judge, most of the others are of a similar type.

The religious practices of this people seem to follow the cults of the particular regions where they are settled, and include natural religion, Lamaism, magic, and ancestral worship. The practice of so many cults, differing so greatly in character, seems to indicate a certain indifference to religion, which may account for the failure of the Christian missionaries, who, for sixty years or more, apparently have been active among this people, but hitherto without making a single convert.

The religion proper of the Mo-so people is the Cult of Heaven, which embraces a Supreme Being endowed with infinite attributes, providence, and justice. They have their holy city at Bedjre, a shrine to which every priest or sorcerer is expected to make at least one pilgrimage during his lifetime. Their temples, if they may be so described, are enclosed spaces, or clearings in the forest, of which the only roof is the canopy of heaven. These enclosures are entered once a year, when sacrifices are offered upon the stone altar which is erected in the centre.

In due course we hope to find some student who will undertake the preparation of these texts for publication, and it is not unlikely that they will furnish new evidence as to the religious rites and ceremonies to which we have incidentally referred.

EARLY PLAYING CARDS.

An interesting and important addition has been made to the library's collection of early wood-engravings under quite accidental circumstances. In the binding of a manuscript volume of legal forms, which at one time belonged to a Preston solicitor, it was found that the binder had used a number of playing cards to reinforce the covers. These have been carefully removed and mounted. There are in all seventy-one cards, forming

parts of at least two packs, some of which have been much cut away, but on several of the picture cards, which have been coloured by hand, the names of the printers survive, and enable us to fix the date of one of the packs as having been printed by G. Hervieu at Rouen, in or about 1572, whilst the other was printed by Jean Gaultier at Paris, in or about 1576. They must, therefore, have been imported into this country in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

FRENCH ARTILLERY ACCOUNTS.

In the binding of another manuscript acquired as long ago as 1911, which was formerly in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and is numbered in his catalogue "6968," there have been found twenty-four leaves of manuscript on paper, which had been pasted together to form the reinforcement of the boards of the binding. These have been carefully separated and mounted, and prove to be the remains of the accounts of the French Royal Artillery at the time of Louis XI, and of the pocket-book of the "Garde Général de l'Artillerie," whose office corresponded to that of our Q.M.G. of Artillery. These documents throw a new light on the organisation of the French artillery after the reform ascribed to Gaspard Bureau, and fill quite an important gap in the history of the French Army.

THE YEAR'S ACCESSIONS.

The additions to the library during the year 1920, by purchase and by gift, number 11,762 volumes, of which 4162 were acquired by purchase, and 7600 by gift or by bequest.

One bequest calls for special mention, that which was received under the will of the late Dr. Lloyd Roberts, consisting as it does of upwards of 6000 volumes, many of which are of extreme interest and importance, notably several hundreds of specimens of the work of the great binders of the fifteenth and later centuries, illustrating the history of binding in a remarkable manner. At the same time many of these volumes are of interest as having come from the libraries of such famous collectors as: Grolier, Maioli, Canevari, De Thou, Marguerite de Valois, Marie de Medicis, Henri II, Diane de Poitiers, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, several of the English Kings and Queens, and others too numerous to mention in a short paragraph like the present. We shall deal with this bequest in greater detail in our next issue.

In connection with the commemoration of the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante, which occurred at Ravenna on the 14th

of September, 1321, it is intended to arrange an exhibition in the main library, with the object of directing attention to the wealth of material available here for the study of Italy's great poet, which comprises five manuscripts and upwards of 6000 printed volumes and pamphlets.

600th ANNIVERSARY OF DANTE'S DEATH.

Of the five manuscripts the three most important are a copy of the "Canzoni" written in the latter part of the fourteenth century for Lorenzo degli Strozzi, which is ornamented with large initial letters and illuminated borders, containing portraits of Dante and of his inamorata; a copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the date 1416, containing a number of variants from the common text, made by B. Landi de Landis, of Prato, of whom nothing is known; and a sixteenth-century copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the "Credo" and other poems at the end, which at one time was in the possession of Cavaliere S. Kirkup.

Of the printed editions there are the three earliest folios of the "Divina Commedia," printed in the same year (1472) at Foligno, Mantua, and Jesi respectively. The only serious gap in the collection is the fourth folio, undated, but which issued from the press of Francesco del Tuppo at Naples between the years 1473 and 1475. Of this edition not more than three or four copies are known to have survived. With this exception, the entire range of the early and principal critical editions of the text of Dante's great poem is represented.

Of the first illustrated edition of the "Divina Commedia," which has also the distinction of being the only one printed in Florence during the fifteenth century, one of the two copies in the library is believed to be the only one containing twenty of the engravings, said to have been executed by Baccio Baldini.

This exhibition will be on view from Wednesday the 20th of April, when there is to be a meeting of the Manchester Dante Society in the library.

The reports that are current as to the discovery of a fragment of the Greek text of the "Apology of Aristides" among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri have set Dr. Rendel Harris examining the text as it was published by himself and Dr. Armitage Robinson thirty years since. Dr. Harris is especially interested to find out whether the lapse of time has invalidated his theory

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

that this famous apology was the book to which Celsus the Epicurean replied in the second century, a point on which Dr. Armitage Robinson was, to say the least, sceptical. The result of the re-examination appears to leave no doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Harris's original argument, and the prospect opens out before us some further discoveries in the region of second century apologetics. Dr. Harris's article on "Aristides and Celsus," printed elsewhere in the present issue, will be warmly welcomed by scholars.

The following arrangements for the delivery of public lectures were made at the commencement of the session :— PUBLIC LECTURES.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 19th October, 1920. "Some Approaches to Religion through Literature in the Nineteenth Century." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Tuesday, 11th January, 1921. "Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' and its Traditional Misinterpretation." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

"Two Biblical and Devotional Lectures for Ministers and Others." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 1st February, 1921. "A Lesson in Ornithology."

Tuesday, 1st March, 1921. "The Gospel of God = the Novel of God."

EVENING LECTURES (7·30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 10th November, 1920. "The Philosophy of Vergil." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th December, 1920. "The Place of Saint Thomas of Canterbury in History." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1921. "Euripides' 'Alcestis': an Interpretative Recital." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Wednesday, 9th February, 1921. "The Messianic Conscious-

ness of Jesus: 2. The Son of Man." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th March, 1921. "Giambattista Vico: an Eighteenth Century Pioneer." By C. E. Vaughan, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Literature in the University of Leeds.

Unfortunately, Dr. Richard G. Moulton, whose visits are always looked forward to with so much pleasure, has had a serious breakdown in health, and has been compelled to cancel all his engagements.

We are glad to hear that he is making progress towards recovery, and we shall look forward to the pleasure of again welcoming him to the library next year.

In place of Dr. Moulton, Dr. Rendel Harris kindly undertook to lecture, on the Tuesday afternoon, on "The Biblical Targum and the Odes of Solomon"; and Professor Tout rendered a similar service, on the Wednesday evening, by lecturing upon "France and England in the Fourteenth Century and Now".

LOUVAIN LIBRARY RECONSTRUCTION.

Since the publication of the last report of progress in connection with the Louvain Library scheme, which appeared in July last, we have been able to dispatch a further consignment of books, consisting of 5212 volumes, which carries the total number of volumes actually transferred to Louvain to the substantial figure of 35,639.

Evidence of the continued interest which is being evinced in this project is to be found in the following list of contributors who, during the last six months, have forwarded to us donations to the extent of nearly 7000 volumes. We take this opportunity of again formally thanking them for their generous and welcome co-operation.

(The figures in Brackets represent the number of Volumes.)

Mrs. ANDREWS, Colwyn Bay. (338)
ANONYMOUS. (127)
ANONYMOUS, Buxton. (12)
E. AXON, Esq., Manchester. (6)
The Rev. G. H. BALL, Torquay. (15)
The Rev. C. R. BINGHAM, Boroughbridge. (22)
H. B. BINGHAM, Esq., London. (10)
The BRADFORD LIBRARY AND LITERARY SOCIETY, Bradford. (E. DANIEL, Esq., Librarian.) (491)

The BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, London. (S. GASELEE, Esq., M.A., Librarian.) (Second instalment.) (1521)
C. R. A. BYRDE, Esq., Halifax. (5)
CLARK UNIVERSITY, Worcester, Mass. (Dr. L. N. WILSON, Librarian.) (30)
A. W. COATES, Esq., Carlisle. (4)
Dr. FELLOWS, Poynton. (3)
G. H. FOWLER, Esq., Aspley Guise. (1399)
A MEMBER OF THE GUILD OF ST. GEORGE. (Per H. E. LUXMOORE, Esq., Eton.) (39)
H. GUPPY, Esq., M.A., Manchester. (31)
P. A. HARRIS, Esq., London. (1)
Miss CONSTANCE HILL, Hampstead. (2)
The HOUSE OF THE RESURRECTION, Mirfield. (Per the Rev. F. H. JEAYES.) (80)
Dr. J. B. HURRY, Reading. (25)
Miss AGNES GARDNER KING, Wrexham. (1)
The REV. S. LEVY, M.A., London. (9)
The TREASURER AND MASTERS OF THE BENCH, Lincoln's Inn, London. (A. F. ETHERIDGE, Esq., Librarian.) (Second instalment.) (352)
The LONDON LIBRARY. (Dr. C. T. HAGBERG Wright, Librarian.) (1)
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, Oxford. (Per C. H. TURNER, D.D., W. LOCK, D.D., F. E. BRIGHTMAN, M.A., D. STONE, D.D., B. H. STREETER, M.A.) (11)
The MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. (G. WILSON, Esq., Medical Librarian.) (57)
The NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, Aberystwyth. (J. BALLINGER, Esq., M.A., Librarian.) (75)
Miss HELEN NEAVES, Edinburgh. (2)
The PUBLIC LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, Sydney. (W. H. Ifould, Esq., Librarian.) (159)
The Rev. F. A. O'BRIEN, M.A., Byfield, S.O. (9)
T. S. OMOND, Esq., Tunbridge Wells. (20)
The ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE, London. (Sir J. Y. W. Macalister, Secretary.) (269)

The Salvation Army Headquarters. (Per Lt.-Col. Carpenter.) (22)
Executors of Dr. W. Sanday. (Per Miss B. Hatch, Oxford.) (168)
Canon Scott, Manchester. (2)
Miss Scott, Glasgow. (1)
Mrs. Skeat, South Croydon. (5)
H. Smith, Esq., Salford. (49)
The Right Hon. J. Parker Smith, P.C., Edinburgh. (48)
The Fathers of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. (Per the Rev. J. H. Wright, S.J.) (144)
The Ven. Archdeacon Spooner, Canterbury. (18)
The Misses Thomas, Llandudno. (6)
The University of Toronto, Canada. (H. H. Langton, Esq., M.A., Librarian.) (1229)
Humphry Ward, Esq., Tring. (In memory of the late Mrs. Humphry Ward.) (183)
F. Whatmoor, Esq., Birkenhead. (52)
A. Williams, Esq., Carnarvon. (1)
F. Wright, Esq., Manchester. (71)
The British School at Athens. (Per G. A. Macmillan, Esq.) (4)
The Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford. (H. W. Chapman, Esq., Secretary.) (8)
The Henry Bradshaw Society. (T. R. Gambier-Parry, Esq., Hon. Treasurer.) (31)
The Philological Society, London. (L. C. Wharton, Esq., Hon. Secretary.) (32)
The Society of Antiquaries of London. (H. S. Kingsford, Esq., Hon. Secretary.) (61)
Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons, Publishers, London. (4)
The Welsh Bibliographical Society. (Per J. Ballinger, Esq., M.A.) (15)

The illustration which serves as a frontispiece to the present issue, is reproduced by the kind permission of Mr. Frank Greenwood, of the Manchester Etchers' Guild, from his recent etching, in which he seems to have caught the spirit and atmosphere surrounding the building in a remarkable way. EXTERNAL VIEW OF THE LIBRARY.

The work of reproduction was carried out in the Printing Department of the College of Technology, by the courtesy of the governing body, under the direction of Mr. R. B. Fishenden, the head of the department, to demonstrate the development of a new process of photo-lithographic off-set printing.

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

A RECORD OF TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK.

1900 JANUARY 1921.

BY THE LIBRARIAN.

THE 1st of January, 1921, marks an epoch in the history of the John Rylands Library, seeing that the twenty-first anniversary of the opening of its doors to readers, an event which synchronised with the advent of the twentieth century, is commemorated on that day.

It is true that the dedication ceremony had taken place some three months earlier, namely, on the 6th of October, 1899, but the interval of three months between the handing over of the building by the contractor in the preceding July and the formal inauguration, was found to be too short to allow of the completion of the necessary arrangements preliminary to the admission of readers, so that the actual opening of the library doors was postponed until the 1st of January following.

The initial stock of books with which the library commenced its career consisted of nearly 70,000 volumes. These were transferred from Longford Hall, the residence of Mrs. Rylands, where they had been gradually accumulating, to the new building in the month of July, and had to be checked, classified and arranged upon the shelves, before they could be regarded as available to the prospective readers, in whose interests they had been brought together; for until such a collection has been properly classified and catalogued it is little better than a "mob of books," and the title "library" cannot be fittingly applied to it. Therefore the interval between the inauguration and the actual opening of the library was devoted to the completion of these arrangements, and to the organisation of the administrative machinery, with a view to the provision of an efficient service together with the adequate safeguards which are essential to such an institution.

As we look back over those twenty-one years, we cannot help feeling that this anniversary is an occasion which unites the past, the present, and the future in happy association. It awakens feelings of intense gratitude for a great bestowal, followed by a great bequest, which make the horizon of the future bright with hope, since, in accordance with the wish and intention of the founder, these benefactions are being devoted to the encouragement of scholarship and original investigation. It may truly be said that in aiding those who are conducting research all other causes are, at the same time, effectively advanced.

For that reason we venture briefly to review the history of the library from the date of its inception, in the hope that others, richly dowered as was the founder of this institution, who have not yet given thought as to the disposition of their wealth, may be induced to follow the example of Mrs. Rylands and dedicate their remaining years to some such worthy object, and by so doing invest their lives with a new and larger interest.

The library, whose coming of age we commemorate in these pages, owes its existence to the enlightened munificence of the late Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, the widow of John Rylands, by whom it was erected, equipped, and liberally endowed as a memorial to her late husband, whose name it perpetuates.

There is little glamour of romance about the life of the man to whose memory this library is dedicated. It was a life of hard work, frugality, and persistent endeavour, which enabled him to climb, step by step, to the almost unparallelled position which he ultimately attained in the Manchester trade.

Born at St. Helens on the 7th of February, 1801, and educated at the Grammar School of his native town, John Rylands early displayed an aptitude for trade. After carrying on a small weaving concern of his own, he entered into partnership, when barely eighteen years of age, with his two elder brothers, Joseph and Richard. Their father joined them in 1819, when the firm of Rylands & Sons was established, with its seat of operations at Wigan. John, the youngest partner, occupied himself in travelling for orders until 1823, when he opened a warehouse for the firm in Manchester, on the site of the present range of warehouses in New High Street. Business increased rapidly, and in 1825 the firm became merchants as well as manufacturers.

Joseph and Richard retired from the business about 1839, and upon the death of their father, in July, 1847, John became sole proprietor of the undertaking.

John Rylands was endowed with that abounding energy coupled with sagacity and financial ability which enabled him to turn to good account many an enterprise that other men had been unable to develop and which they had regarded as worthless. By men of affairs, with whom he did business, he was looked upon as very astute and far seeing. He took up one enterprise after another and made of each an upward step in his career, which was one of uninterrupted prosperity. In all his undertakings he was a tremendous worker. Not only was he a great organiser and administrator, he was also a remarkable judge of men, and by surrounding himself with men of character and ability who were able to assist him in his numerous enterprises, he built up the immense business concern with which his name is still associated.

John Rylands was of a peculiarly retiring and sensitive disposition, and always shrank from public office of any kind, although he was not by any means indifferent to public interests. When the Manchester Ship Canal was mooted and there seemed doubt as to the ways and means for the enterprise, he took up £50,000 worth of shares, increasing his contribution when the project appeared again to be in danger. His charities were numerous but unobtrusive. Among other benefactions he established and maintained orphanages, homes for aged gentlewomen, a home of rest for ministers of slender means, and he provided a town-hall, baths, library, and a coffee-house in Stretford, the village, near Manchester, in which he resided for so many years. His benefactions to the poor of Rome were so liberal as to induce the King of Italy to decorate him with the order of the Crown of Italy.

For many years he employed competent scholars to prepare special editions of the Bible and religious works, which he printed for free distribution. These include : The Holy Bible arranged in numbered paragraphs : a large quarto volume of 1272 pages, first issued in 1863, with an excellent topical index extending to 272 pages, and of which two subsequent editions were printed in 1878 and 1886 respectively. Diodati's Italian Bible, similarly arranged and indexed, was printed for distribution in Italy. Ostervald's French Testament, arranged on a similar plan, was also printed for distribution in France. " Hymns of the Church Universal, with prefaces, annotations, and

indexes:" a volume in roy. 8vo, of 604 pages, which was issued in 1885, is a selection from a collection of 60,000 hymns made by Mr. Rylands, which is preserved in the library in thirty-four folio volumes, with a manuscript index extending to nine volumes of like dimensions.

Furthermore, Mr. Rylands took an interest in all that related to literature, but the absorbing cares of business necessarily prevented him from living as much as he would have wished among books. He was always ready, however, to extend his help and encouragement to students. He took a special interest in adding to the studies of the poorer Free Church ministers gifts of books which were beyond their own slender means to provide, but which were necessary to keep them in touch with the trend of modern religious thought, since, in many cases, they were stationed in rural districts remote from anything in the nature of a library.

When, therefore, upon the death of Mr. Rylands, which took place on the 11th of December, 1888, Mrs. Rylands found herself entrusted with the disposal of his great wealth, she resolved to commemorate the name of her husband, by dedicating to his memory an institution devoted to the encouragement of learning, which should be placed in the very heart of the city which had been the scene of his varied activities and triumphs. She recalled the little library at Longford Hall, Stretford, which Mr. Rylands had watched over with so much care, and which in its time and measure had been of incalculable benefit to many a struggling minister. She also remembered how great an interest he had taken in theological studies, and accordingly resolved to establish a library in which theology should occupy a prominent place, where the theological student should find all the material necessary for his study and research. It was intended to be a religious foundation in the broadest sense of the words. There were to be no sectarian limitations to vex the students who should come to read, no "index expurgatorius" to exclude from the shelves any author who might happen to propound theological views contrary to those held by the founder.

With this idea of the library in view, Mrs. Rylands, in 1889, entered upon the collection of standard authorities in all departments of literature, and in the year 1890 the erection of the present building was commenced from the design of Mr. Basil Champneys.

The scheme was conceived in no narrow spirit. Mrs. Rylands was a woman of catholic ideas, and allowed the purpose she had in view to mature and fructify as time went on. It was fortunate that she proceeded in a leisurely manner, since various unforeseen circumstances helped to give a shape to the contemplated memorial, which neither she nor anyone else could have anticipated.

Whilst the building was rising from the ground books were being accumulated, but without ostentation, and few people were aware that a great library was in process of formation.

The only interruption of the perfect quiet with which this project was pursued, occurred in 1892, some two years after the builders had commenced their work of construction, when there came to Mrs. Rylands an opportunity of giving to this memorial a grandeur which at first had not been contemplated. In that year it was announced that Earl Spencer had decided to dispose of that most famous of all private collections "The Althorp Library". Lord Spencer wisely stipulated with the agent, that a purchaser should be found for the collection as a whole, so as to obviate its dispersal in all directions. For some time this object seemed to be impossible of realisation, but when the matter was brought to the notice of Mrs. Rylands she recognised that the possession of such a collection would be the crowning glory of her design, and at an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million of money she decided to become the purchaser.

As soon as it was announced that this famous collection had been saved from the disaster of dispersal, and was to find a home in Manchester, a great sigh of relief went up all over the country. The nation was relieved to know that so many of its priceless literary treasures were to be secured for all time against the risk of transportation, and the public spirit which Mrs. Rylands had manifested was greeted with a chorus of grateful approbation.

Although the Althorp Library, which consisted of rather more than 40,000 volumes, is but part of the John Rylands Library, which to-day numbers upwards of 250,000 volumes, it is, by common consent, the most splendid part. Renouard, the French bibliographer, described it as "The most beautiful and richest private library in Europe," and another writer has spoken of it as "a collection which stands above all rivalry". Its distinguishing feature is the collection of early printed books, which, in point of condition, is probably with-

out rival, thanks to the book-loving and scholarly instincts possessed by the second Earl Spencer, the founder of the library at Althorp, who for something like forty years haunted the salerooms and booksellers' shops throughout Europe in his eagerness to enrich his collection with whatever was fine and rare.

Thus it may be said that a collection of books had been acquired for Manchester which in many respects was unrivalled, the possession of which gave to the city a distinction enjoyed by few others. In doing this Mrs. Rylands had enlarged the scope of her original plan, and decided to establish a library that should be at once "a place of pilgrimage to the lover of rare books," and a "live library" for the stimulation of learning, and for the extension of the boundaries of human knowledge, whether in the departments of theology, philosophy, history, philology, literature, art, or bibliography, where students would find not merely the useful appliances for carrying on their work, but an atmosphere with a real sense of inspiration, which would assist them to carry it on in the loftiest spirit.

In this great metropolis of the North of England, which had already placed itself in the front rank of cities which are true cities, which had raised itself to a position of eminence amongst the universities of the world, and had come to be regarded as an important centre of intellectual activity, a place was already open for such an institution, and in a short time it gained a reputation that it might have taken a century or perhaps centuries to acquire, if ever it could have been acquired at all, had it begun in the ordinary way. It is not surprising therefore that it received the hearty welcome of the scholars of the country, and sprang as if by magic into a high place among the great libraries not only of this country but of the world.

There is a vast difference between a bequest and a bestowal, but we are accustomed to speak of them in the same terms, although in reality there is a moral distinction between the two which compels us to put them in altogether different classes of action. A benefactor who gives her money while she lives is on a higher plane than one who resorts to testamentary methods to dispose of it.

It has been said that a man who wants to build a library or similar institution will save himself a great deal of trouble and anxiety by letting somebody else build it after he is dead. This was not the view held by Mrs. Rylands, she preferred to build during her lifetime, and gave

personal attention to every detail of the scheme, being ever ready to accept new ideas and to adjust herself to them.

After ten years of loving and anxious care the building was ready for occupation. Only those who were associated with Mrs. Rylands know how much she put into those ten years. From the very inception of her scheme she took the keenest possible interest in it, devoting almost all her time, thought, and energy to it. Not only every detail in the construction of the building, but every other detail of the scheme in general, was carried out under her personal supervision. Nothing escaped her scrutiny, and it would be impossible to say how many admirable features were the result of her personal suggestion. No expense was spared. The architect was commissioned to design a building which should be an ornament to Manchester, in the construction of which only the best materials should be employed, and it is not too much to say that stone-mason, sculptor, metal-worker, and wood-carver have conspired under the direction of the architect, and under the watchful eye of the founder, to construct a building in every way worthy of the priceless collection of treasures which it was intended to house, and one which has come to be regarded by competent authorities as one of the finest specimens of modern Gothic architecture to be found in this or in any country.

It was on the 6th of October, 1899, that this building and its contents were formally dedicated to the public, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of people from all parts of Europe. The inaugural address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford—an address in every sense worthy of a great occasion, from which a few passages may be appropriately quoted :—

"It would have been a comparatively simple and easy thing for Mrs. Rylands, out of her large means, to set aside a sum ample enough to build this edifice, to equip and endow this institution. She had only to select an architect and choose a librarian, to summon to her side ministers and agents capable of carrying out her will, saying to them : 'Here is money, spend it in the princeliest way you can, and, if more be needed, more will be at your command'. But she did not so read her duty. The ideal created in her imagination, by the memory and character of her husband, was one she alone could realise. And she proceeded to realise it, with the results that we this day behold.

Nothing was too immense, or too intricate to be mastered, nothing was too small to be overlooked. The architect has proved himself a genius. He has adorned Manchester, he has enriched England with one of the most distinguished and the most perfect architectural achievements of this century. . . . The library will be entitled to take its place among the deathless creations of love. To multitudes it will be simply the John Rylands Library, built by the munificence of his widow. . . . But to the few, and those the few who know, it will for ever remain the most marvellous thing in history, as the tribute of a wife's admiration of her husband, and her devotion to his memory. The opening of this library calls for national jubilation. All citizens who desire to see England illumined, reasonable, right, will rejoice that there came into the heart of one who inherited the wealth of this great Manchester merchant, the desire to create for him so seemly a monument as this. It stands here fitly in a city where wealth is made, to help to promote the culture, to enlarge the liberty, to confirm the faith, to illumine the way of its citizens, small and great."

At the conclusion of this ceremony Mrs. Rylands was summoned to the Town Hall to receive the freedom of the City of Manchester, as the highest distinction that it is in the power of the city authorities to bestow.

The scroll on which the freedom of the City was presented records the resolution of the City Council in the following terms :—

"That the members of this Council desire to express their opinion that the powers accorded to them by law for the recognition of eminent services would be fittingly exercised by conferring upon Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands the freedom of the City—the highest distinction which it is their privilege to bestow. Mrs. Rylands is distinguished and honoured by the community for the generous manner in which she has founded and dedicated to the public, and enshrined in a beautiful and costly edifice, a noble library for the promotion of study and the pursuit of learning ; for the large collection of books formed by herself, and especially for its enrichment by the addition of the celebrated Althorp Library, purchased from Earl Spencer ; for the exceptional service thus rendered by preventing this invaluable library from being removed from England ; for the important facilities she has thus afforded to the student of bibliographical research by bringing together so many of the rarest and most precious of literary treasures

as will make Manchester a place of pilgrimage to scholars throughout the world; for the enlightened wisdom by which this valuable property will be invested in trustees, its government entrusted to chosen representatives, and its management based on broad and liberal principles. The Council, in recognition of these and other eminent services, do hereby, in pursuance of the Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Act, 1885, confer upon Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, the honorary freedom of the City of Manchester, and hereby admit her to the honorary freedom of the City of Manchester accordingly.'

The silver casket enclosing the scroll, which was handed to Mrs. Rylands on the occasion of her admission to the freedom of the City, has quite recently been presented to the Governors for preservation in the library in perpetuity, through the intervention of the present Lord Mayor (Alderman William Kay), by the family of the late Mr. Stephen Joseph Tennant, the brother of Mrs. Rylands, into whose possession it passed at the death of his sister.

Mrs. Rylands' liberality was not by any means confined to the library. When the Whitworth Hall was built for the Owens College, by the late Chancellor Copley Christie, Mrs. Rylands crowned the benefaction by the gift of a fine organ, which was ready for use, when the Prince and Princess of Wales performed the opening ceremony on the 12th of March, 1902. It should be mentioned that the celebration of the jubilee of the Owens College had been deferred for a year until the building of the hall was finished.

On the day following the opening ceremony a number of honorary degrees were conferred to mark the celebration of the Jubilee, when Mrs. Rylands received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, at the hands of the Chancellor of the University, in the person of Earl Spencer, whose library she had been the means of bestowing on Manchester.

Mrs. Rylands was presented to the Chancellor in the following terms of appreciation, by the late Professor A. S. Wilkins:—

"I present Mrs. Rylands, who, with splendid munificence, has gathered in Manchester a magnificent library as the most fitting memorial for one who cared much that the best books should be accessible to all, who laid down the rules for its government with far-sighted sagacity, who endowed it lavishly, and who is never weary of adding to its treasures with a watchful and discriminating generosity."

Mrs. Rylands' interest in the library did not end with the erection and equipment of the building. She endowed it with an annual income for its maintenance and extension, and again and again when rare and costly books or collections of books came into the market, which were beyond the reach of the ordinary income of the library to secure, she readily and generously found the money for their purchase if only she could be assured that the usefulness of the library would be enhanced by their possession. Never has the philosophy of large giving had a better illustration.

In the month of August, 1901, another instance of the munificence of the founder, and of her continued interest in the library was made public, with the announcement that the celebrated collection of illuminated and other manuscripts belonging to the Earl of Crawford, numbering upwards of six thousand items, had been acquired for a sum little less than that paid for the Althorp collection. The purchase came as a great surprise to all but a very few, for the negotiations had been conducted in that quiet, unostentatious manner which was characteristic of all Mrs. Rylands' actions.

The importance of this addition to the library's resources cannot be overestimated, since it gives to it a position with regard to Oriental and Western manuscripts similar to that which it previously occupied in respect of early printed books through the possession of the "Althorp Library," for just as the distinguishing mark of that collection was to be found in the early printed books, so the manuscripts formed the distinguishing mark of the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana".

In order that the value and contents of the collection should be brought to the knowledge of scholars in all parts of the world, Mrs. Rylands generously undertook to defray the cost of cataloguing it in a manner commensurate with its importance. To this end arrangements were entered into with a number of leading scholars to deal with manuscripts in their own special line of research, and, although several of these catalogues have since appeared, and others may be expected shortly, it is to be regretted that Mrs. Rylands did not live to see this part of her scheme carried through.

From first to last Mrs. Rylands' interest in the library was unflagging. Until within a few weeks of her death she was making purchases of manuscripts and books, and one of her last cares was to provide accommodation for the rapid extension of the library, so that the work

should in no wise be hampered for want of space. A fine site adjoining the library had been acquired, and it was her intention, had she lived, to erect thereon a store building that would provide accommodation for at least half a million volumes. Unfortunately death intervened before the arrangements in pursuance of her intentions could be completed.

There are those who believe that institutions of this character grow of themselves when once started. This is a mistaken idea which, fortunately, was not shared by Mrs. Rylands. She realised very fully that they do not grow of themselves, that they must be made to grow, and that money is the only fertiliser that is of any use.

Mrs. Rylands' death occurred on the 4th of February, 1908, to the irreparable loss not only of the institution which she had founded, but to the entire city of Manchester.

In her will Mrs. Rylands made additional provision for the upkeep and development of the library, which has enabled the trustees and governors to administer it in a manner worthy of the lofty ideals of the founder.

In addition to the monetary bequests, Mrs. Rylands bequeathed to the library, all books, manuscripts, and engravings in her residence at Longford Hall, numbering several thousand volumes, many of which were of great importance. These she had gathered round her during the last twenty years of her life not alone for her own pleasure, but with a view to the ultimate enrichment of the library.

Hitherto, our remarks, of necessity, have been confined almost exclusively to Mrs. Rylands' relations to the library, which she looked upon with pardonable pride as her great achievement. But her munificence did not end there, nor with her gifts to numerous other public objects in which she took a keen interest. The full extent of her benefactions will probably never be known. She was naturally reserved, and delighted to do good by stealth, but those who take an active part in charitable work in Manchester could testify to her unfailing readiness to assist any good cause of which she approved. She did not simply give money out of her great wealth, she also gave care, thought, and attention to all that she was interested in.

Personally, Mrs. Rylands was little known, she shrank from publicity, she kept no diary, and left only a few scattered notes which could be employed as aids to memory, but whatever material there

was in writing at the time of her death was committed to the flames by her express direction. She was a woman of very marked ability and of great determination, and those who had the privilege of assisting her in any of her numerous and absorbing interests can testify to her wonderful business capacity, and to her mastery of detail. She possessed truly, and in a remarkable degree "the genius of taking pains".

The property was vested in a body of nine trustees, to hold office continuously, with power to fill any vacancies, as they should occur, by the vote of the surviving members of the Trust; whilst the administration of the library was entrusted to a council of eighteen governors, consisting of ten representatives of the University and City of Manchester, and certain other bodies which are not local in character, and eight co-opted governors appointed by the council under regulations prescribed in the constitution.

Of the nine trustees originally appointed by Mrs. Rylands only two survive: Sir Adolphus William Ward, the Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Sir Evan Spicer, J.P. The present board consists of the two continuing trustees, and the following members: Gerard N. Ford, Esq., J.P., Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., W. Arnold Linnell, Esq., Sir Thomas T. Shann, J.P., The Marquis of Hartington, The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, P.C., and Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S.

Of the eighteen governors forming the first council, who were also appointed by Mrs. Rylands, only two survive: Professor T. F. Tout, F.B.A., and Professor A. S. Peake, D.D. The present council is constituted as follows: Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S. (Chairman), Sir Thomas T. Shann, J.P. (Hon. Treasurer), Gerard N. Ford, Esq., J.P. (Hon. Secretary), Professor C. H. Herford, Litt.D., Professor L. E. Kastner, W. Marsden, Esq., J.P., Henry Plummer, Esq., J.P., Sir William Stephens, J.P., Professor T. F. Tout, F.B.A., Professor Charles E. Vaughan, Litt.D., who are representative governors, and the following co-opted members: the Right Rev. Bishop E. Knox, D.D., the Rev. George Jackson, D.D., the Rev. R. Mackintosh, D.D., the Rev. J. T. Marshall, D.D., Professor A. S. Peake, D.D., Sir Alexander Porter, J.P., the Rev. F. J. Powicke, Ph.D., and the Rev. J. E. Roberts, D.D.

The first Chairman of the Council was William Linnell, Esq., one of the original Trustees and a Life-Governor, who had been

closely associated with Mrs. Rylands from the inception of her scheme, and rendered very valuable assistance in connection with the building and organisation of the library down to the time of his death, which took place in 1901. He was succeeded by Alderman Harry Rawson from 1901 to 1903; by Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., from 1903 to 1918; by Sir George W. Macalpine, J.P., from 1918 to 1920; and by Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S., since 1920.

The first occupant of the office of Honorary Treasurer was Stephen Joseph Tennant, Esq., the brother of Mrs. Rylands, who, also, from the inception of the scheme was closely associated with his sister, and served the library with untiring devotion until within a few days of his death, which occurred in 1914. He was succeeded by the present Treasurer, Sir Thomas Thornhill Shann, J.P.

The Rev. J. W. Kiddle, one of the Trustees and Governors, was the first Honorary Secretary, an office which he continued to fill until his death in 1911, when he was succeeded by Gerard N. Ford, Esq., J.P.

In addition to the above-named members of the Trust and Council, the following have been actively associated with the administration of the library, either as Trustees or Governors, during the respective periods covered by the years indicated within the brackets after their names: The Rev. Principal W. F. Adeney, D.D. (Governor, 1904-1913); Sir William H. Bailey (Governor, 1899-1913); the Rev. C. L. Bedale (Governor, 1917-1919); William Carnelley, Esq. (Trustee and Governor, 1899-1919); Lord Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett (Trustee, 1899-1920); Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., etc. (Governor, 1909-1915); J. Arnold Green, Esq. (Governor, 1899-1901; the Rev. Samuel Gosnell Green, D.D. (Trustee, 1899-1905); H. A. Heywood, Esq. (Governor, 1919); the Right Rev. Bishop E. L. Hicks, D.D. (Governor, 1905-1910; the Rev. Silvester Horne (Trustee, 1899-1914); Professor Victor Kastner (Governor, 1907-1909); John E. King, Esq. (Governor, 1899-1903); the Rev. A. Mackennal, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1904); the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1910); Professor James Hope Moulton, Litt.D., etc. (Governor, 1904-1917); J. Lewis Paton, Esq. (Governor, 1913-1917); the Rev. Marshall Randles, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1904); Reuben Spencer, Esq. (Trustee, 1899-1901); Professor J. Strachan, Litt.D., etc.

(Governor, 1903-1907); the Rev. A. W. H. Streuli (Governor, 1899-1913); Alderman Joseph Thompson, LL.D. (Governor, 1899-1909); Sir William Vaudrey, J.P. (Governor, 1899-1911); the Right Rev. Bishop J. E. H. Welldon, D.D. (Governor, 1910-1918); Professor A. S. Wilkins, Litt.D., etc. (Governor, 1899-1905); the Venerable Archdeacon James Wilson, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1905).

The Corporation of Manchester have the right to appoint two of the representative governors, but the library is in nowise subject to the control of the Municipality, nor does it derive any financial support from the city; its income is derived from endowments provided by the founder, and it may therefore be regarded as a national trust. The conditions under which permission to read therein is granted are exactly similar to those which obtain at the British Museum. Indeed, the aim of the governors, from the very outset, has been to build up a reference and research library for the North of England on the lines of the great national institution at Bloomsbury.

It is gratifying therefore to be able to report that one of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during the period covered by this review is the large amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from the home universities, but also by scholars from all parts of the world.

Throughout the twenty-one years of its activities the duty of the library to scholarship has been recognised, and the governors, with a liberal interpretation of their responsibility to learning, have realised that, whilst it is their primary duty carefully to preserve the books and manuscripts entrusted to their care, yet the real importance of such a collection rests not alone upon the number or the rarity of the works of which it is composed, but upon the use which is made of them. Only in this way can the library be worthy of its history.

It was inevitable that the possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures should cause the library to become a place of pilgrimage for those who have given themselves to the service of learning, as well as for the lovers of rare books. From the first, however, it has been the steadfast aim of the governors to make it an efficient working library for students, and, with this end in view, they have developed the collections by the provision of the best literature in the various departments of knowledge which comes within the scope of the library, so as to excite and diffuse a love of learning, and at the

same time assist the original investigations and efforts of those who might devote themselves to the pursuit of some special branch of study.

This design has been consistently followed without any material change since the day of its inauguration. It has remained only to build up the collections along lines which have already been fruitful of good results, and as a consequence the library has quickly and almost imperceptibly developed into an admirable laboratory for historical and literary investigation.

In the early years it was not surprising to find that there were many lacunæ in the library's collections, but every effort has been employed gradually to reduce their number, and with gratifying success. In this respect we have gratefully to acknowledge the valuable services rendered by readers, who, from time to time, have pointed out the library's lack of important authorities in their special lines of research. Suggestion of this or of any kind, which tend to the improvement of the library, have always been both invited and welcomed, and have received prompt and sympathetic attention.

It may not be out of place at this point briefly to refer to the help and guidance which the officials are constantly called upon to render, not only by personal attention in the library itself, but also in response to written requests from all parts of the world. Such services cannot be reduced to any reliable statistical statement, but they bear fruit in the grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to the library, which constantly find expression in the foot-notes and prefaces to published works, and in presentation copies of the works containing such acknowledgments.

The governors also considered it desirable to give to the general public, as well as to those who had not yet discovered the delights and advantages of literary study, or who had only a casual acquaintance with books, opportunities for forming some idea of the scope and character of the collections and of the possibilities of usefulness, which the library offered.

Therefore, with the object of providing the means for fostering such interest, and of making the resources of the library better known, provision was made in the planning and equipment of the building for exhibitions and public lectures, by the installation of ten exhibition cases in the main library, which is situated on the first floor, and of

two lecture halls on the ground floor, the larger intended for public lectures, the smaller for lecture demonstrations.

One of the first steps to be taken in this endeavour to popularise the library, in the best sense of that term, was by the arrangement of exhibitions, which have since come to be regarded as one of the permanent features of the library's work. They are designed to reveal to visitors something of the character of the collections which have made the library famous in the world of letters, and which at the same time have helped to make Manchester a centre of attraction for scholars from all parts of the world. EXHIBITIONS.

Among the subjects with which these exhibitions have dealt, the following may be mentioned: "The Art and Craft of the Scribes and Illuminators of the Middle Ages"; "The Beginnings of Books"; "The History of the Transmission of the Bible from the Earliest Times"; "Books and Broadsides illustrating the History of Printing"; "Original Editions of the Works of John Milton"; "Manuscripts and Printed Editions of the Works of Dante Alighieri"; "Original Editions of the Principal English Classics"; "Mediæval Manuscripts and Jewelled Book Covers"; and "The Works of Shakespeare, his Sources, and the Writings of his Principal Contemporaries".

In connection with each exhibition it has been customary to issue a descriptive hand-book, which usually contains an historical introduction to the subject dealt with, a list of the principal works bearing upon it which may be consulted in the library, and facsimiles of title-pages or characteristic pages, of some of the most famous of the exhibits. These hand-books, which often extend to upwards of a hundred pages, are prepared with the greatest possible care, and are calculated to be of permanent value to students.

If we may judge from the large number of people, including groups of students, who, with evident enjoyment and avowed benefit, have visited these exhibitions, as well as from the appreciative notices which have appeared in the press, the object which we had in view has been abundantly realised.

Interest in the library has also been fostered by means of public lectures. The first series was arranged in 1901, and dealt exclusively with the history and scope of the institution. This was followed in the succeeding session by a series on "Books PUBLIC LECTURES.

and their Makers". Such was the success of these experiments that a more ambitious scheme was entered upon, and in each of the subsequent seventeen years a syllabus has been arranged, which has included the names of scholars of the highest eminence, who have gladly responded to the invitation extended to them to lecture upon the subjects of which they are the recognised authorities. In the course of these lectures new theories and discoveries have often been advanced, which were calculated to impart a fresh stimulus to study in their respective fields of research. The lecture-room has generally been filled to overflowing, with an audience which was at once responsive and inspiring, and on numerous occasions large numbers have been unable to gain admission.

The object of these lectures, as already stated, is to stimulate interest in the library and in the higher branches of literature, and each lecture is made the occasion for reminding the audience of this fact by directing attention to the available sources of information upon the subject dealt with.

DEMONSTRATIONS TO STUDENTS AND CRAFTSMEN.

Another department of work which has met with encouraging success is represented by the bibliographical and other demonstrations for organised parties of students from the University, the training colleges, the technical and secondary schools, and other similar institutions in Manchester and the neighbouring towns.

As a rule the demonstration deals with the author or subject, sometimes a period of history or of literature, which has been the theme of class study during the term. Such subjects as "The Beginnings of Literature," "The Beginnings of Printing," "The Books of the Middle Ages," "The Revival of Learning," "The Early Settlement of America," "The Bible before Printing," "The Printed English Bible," "Aldus," "Chaucer," "Wiclif," "Shakespeare," "Dante," and "Milton" have each in turn been dealt with in this manner.

These parties, which consist of from twenty-five to a hundred students, have been accommodated in one of the lecture rooms, around tables upon which the manuscript and other material for the demonstration had been arranged.

Experience has taught us that nothing will help a student to appreciate the reality underlying the great names of literature or history

like a personal introduction to the original editions of their works, or to the most authoritative material bearing upon the subject. In dealing with ancient history, for example, to be able to show a group of tablets, consisting of letters of the time of Hammurabi or Abraham, a proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar, the writing tablets of one of the Roman Consuls, or a papyrus document written during the lifetime of our Lord, is to make history live. In the case of Shakespeare, to be able to show copies of the actual editions of the books to which Shakespeare must have had access, and which he drew upon in the writing of his plays, or of the original editions of his own works, is to impart a sense of personal acquaintance with, or a vivid impression of the writer, which not only intensifies the student's love for the particular subject, but stimulates an interest in the many valuable collections which the library possesses, and in that way lays a foundation for future study.

On several occasions, at the request of the Head Teachers' Association and the Teachers' Guild, model demonstrations of a similar character have been given to large parties of teachers, who have expressed appreciation of this method of utilising the resources of the library, opening out, as it does, vistas of usefulness not hitherto contemplated by them.

Groups of craftsmen connected with the printing, book-binding, and other trade societies, have also had lecture demonstrations arranged for them upon such subjects as writing, printing, book-illustration, and book-binding, which, to judge from their expressions of grateful appreciation, have enabled them to carry away a new conception of the dignity and possibilities of the particular craft to which they belonged.

From the educational point of view, the library has achieved a gratifying measure of success by means of these exhibitions, lectures, and demonstrations, since many of the schools and colleges have been avowedly aided in their work, and have been drawn into closer relationship with the institution. Not only so, but in a large number of cases which have been brought to our knowledge, the interest of the casual visitor has also ripened into a desire to become a regular reader, with the avowed object of following up lines of study suggested to them in the course of some lecture or demonstration.

In the year 1910 the governors wisely decided to instal a photographic studio with a complete and up-to-date equipment of apparatus,

and their action has been abundantly justified by the results already obtained. This new department is fraught with possibilities of world-wide benefit, for it has made it possible to render to scholars, both at home and abroad, most valuable assistance, by furnishing them with photographed facsimiles of pages from some of the rarer printed books and manuscripts. Again and again, in the case of requests for transcripts and collations of passages from some important text in the possession of the library, it has been found possible, at small cost, to provide a photograph or a rotograph of the passage required, which was at once more trustworthy and more acceptable than the best hand-made transcript could possibly be.

PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO.

With the object of increasing the facilities for advanced study which the library offers, every attention has been paid to the improvement of the equipment, especially in the gallery alcoves, which are now reserved for students who are conducting special research. This accommodation is much coveted by readers, in consequence of the greater freedom from distraction which it offers, and also because each alcove is furnished with a small standing-press, in which they may keep out, from day to day, the works which they require for continuous study. These seats are allotted to students in the order of their application, and, as a rule, for the whole of the session. Indeed, such has been the increasing demand for them during the last few years, that invariably every seat has been allotted before the session opens. This constant solicitude on the part of the governors for the comfort of readers has evoked expressions of unqualified gratitude and appreciation.

EQUIPMENT.

Throughout the period covered by the war the service of the library was maintained, as nearly as possible, at the regular level of its efficiency, in spite of the absence of eleven members of the staff who enlisted in H.M. Forces, in one capacity or another, in response to the call of King and Country. This continuance of the service was rendered possible by the loyal and untiring devotion of those officials who, from one cause or another, were exempt from active military duties.

THE LIBRARY DURING THE WAR.

It is true that several important pieces of work, which were in contemplation at the outbreak of war, had to be set aside in consequence of the absence of so large a proportion of the staff, but that was not

to be wondered at, for plans conceived in time of peace naturally change and shrink under the strain and stress of war.

Of the members of the staff already referred to as having been absent on active service, ten returned to duty, glad to exchange life in the army for the peaceful atmosphere of the library, but we have to deplore the loss of Captain O. J. Sutton, M.C., whose death deprives the library of a trustworthy and valued assistant, who had been associated with the institution from the time of its inauguration until he was called up for active service in August, 1914.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOUVAIN LIBRARY.

One piece of war-work, to which the governors may point with pardonable pride, is represented by the assistance which the library has been able to render to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, by providing them with the nucleus of a new library to replace the famous collection of books and manuscripts which had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Germans in August, 1914.

Within four months of the perpetration of that wanton act, the new library was already rising, phœnix-like, out of the ruins of the old one, as a result of the scheme of replacement which grew out of the desire on the part of the governors to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of Louvain. This they felt could best be accomplished by means of a gift of books, and forthwith the offer of an initial group of 200 volumes was made.

The offer was gratefully accepted, and acknowledged as the first contribution which had been effectually made to the future library of Louvain, but as Belgium was at that time in the occupation of the Germans, and the members of the University were scattered and in exile, the governors were requested to house their gift until such time as the country had been freed from the presence of the invaders, and the University had been repatriated.

Having gladly undertaken this service, it occurred to the governors that there must be many other libraries and learned institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in such a project, and, with a view of inviting their co-operation, an announcement was made in the subsequent issue of this BULLETIN (which appeared in April, 1915) of our willingness to be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us

for the purpose. We also announced our intention of preparing a register of the various contributors, with an exact description of their gifts, for presentation with the books when the appropriate time should arrive, to serve as a permanent record of this united effort to repair at least some of the damage which had been wrought by the war.

Our appeal met with an immediate and generous response, which has continued unabated throughout the six years that have elapsed since it was first made public. One of the most pleasing features of the response has been that all classes of the community, not only in this country, but in many parts of the English-speaking world, as well as in several of the allied and neutral countries, have participated in it. Many of the gifts may be said to partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since they consist of treasured possessions which had been acquired by struggling students through the exercise of economy and self-denial.

Early in 1916 a national committee was formed, upon the initiative of the President and Secretary of the British Academy, to co-operate with the governors in the development of the scheme which they had already inaugurated. This resulted in a new impulse being given to the movement.

Reports of progress, coupled with new appeals for help, have been made from time to time in the pages of the BULLETIN, with encouraging results. In one of our appeals we explained that, whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we had in contemplation, we were at the same time anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words that its equipment should include the necessary materials for research on the history, language, and literature of the country, together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. The attainment of that object has been made possible by the ready and generous co-operation of many of the learned societies, universities, university presses, and leading publishers.

In this connection it may not be out of place to quote a few sentences from a letter received in April last, from Professor A. van Hoonacker, in which he refers to the character of the British contribution in the following terms :—

". . . The restoration of our library is progressing splendidly, and it is gratifying to acknowledge for us that the most valuable contributions

by far, are those of our English friends. Our debt of gratitude towards the Rylands Library is very great indeed and can never be forgotten. Our library will be a historical monument in a special way : it is going to be for its best part an English library."

Throughout the six years during which the scheme has been in operation, gifts of books, in large or in small consignments, have been reaching us almost daily. In order to obviate the risk of having collections of volumes dumped upon us indiscriminately, we have been careful to invite prospective donors to send to us, in the first instance, lists of the works they desired to offer, so that we might have the opportunity of respectfully declining anything deemed to be unsuitable, or of which a copy had already been contributed by some other donor. In this way we were able to secure for our friends at Louvain a really live collection of books, embracing all departments of knowledge.

The work of receiving, rebinding or repairing such volumes as were not quite sound in their covers, registering, cataloguing, repacking, and making them ready for shipment, involving, as it did, a formidable amount of correspondence, in addition to the other operations referred to, has been at times a serious tax upon the resources of the library, but the work has been regarded as a labour of love by the various members of the staff who have had a hand in it, and, thanks to their loyal and at times self-sacrificing devotion, the project has been carried through to a successful issue, without any serious interference with the regular routine and service of the library.

In January, 1919, not only was Belgium freed from the hateful presence of the invaders, but the University of Louvain was repatriated by the return of the authorities to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to assemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which were already taking shape.

If one of the first essentials in the organisation of any University is a library, it was not surprising to learn that, in the absence of this essential part of the University's equipment, the work of the students during the first session of their revival had been seriously hampered. Fortunately this was a deficiency that was remedied during the ensuing session. Temporary premises were secured to serve as library and

reading-room pending the erection of the new library building, and it was our privilege to assist in the furnishing of the shelves with an up-to-date collection of books designed to meet the immediate requirements of staff and students.

As evidence of the success of this scheme it needs only to be stated that, since December, 1919, we have had the pleasure of transferring to Louvain 443 cases, containing no fewer than 35,639 volumes, forming the splendid collection of books which had been gradually accumulated here in the John Rylands Library as the outcome of these combined efforts.

There are still several thousands of volumes either in hand or under promise for the next shipment, so that a total of at least 40,000 volumes is within sight, and for this we renew our thanks to all who have in any way assisted us to realise this successful issue to our scheme.

PUBLICATIONS.

From the beginning of their administration of the library the Governors have recognised the advantages of employing the printing press for disseminating information concerning its varied contents, in order that scholars throughout the world should have the means of ascertaining something of their character and importance.

To this end they have sanctioned the production of a number of catalogues and other publications, many of which have come to be regarded as valuable contributions to the study of the subjects with which they deal.

It should be pointed out, however, that the first publications to be issued in connection with the library, were prepared and printed at the expense of Mrs. Rylands, and were ready for distribution immediately after the inauguration ceremony had taken place.

They consisted of a "Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts" with which the library commenced its career, forming three volumes in quarto; a special "Catalogue of the Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Books in English Printed Abroad, to the Year 1640," in one volume uniform with the aforesaid general catalogue; and a sumptuous folio volume furnished with twenty-six collotype facsimiles and many engravings, in which the collection of English Bibles printed between 1525 and 1640 are fully described from the bibliographical standpoint.

The first publication to be issued under the auspices of the governors, and one of the most important and ambitious catalogues hitherto published by the library, was issued in 1909, under the title "Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library," by F. Ll. Griffith, in 3 vols., 4to. It was the first issue of the series of descriptive guides or catalogues to the collection of Oriental and Western manuscripts in the possession of the library, but it was something more than a catalogue, since it included collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents, with transliterations, complete translations, valuable introductions, very full notes, and a glossary, representing, in the estimation of scholars, the most important contribution to the study of Demotic hitherto published. It was the result of nearly ten years of persistent labour on the part of the editor, who was at that time Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford.

This was followed in the same year by the "Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," by W. E. Crum, in one volume uniform with the former. In this also, many of the texts were reproduced *in extenso*, and in facsimile. The collection includes a series of private letters considerably older than any hitherto known in Coptic, in addition to many manuscripts of great historical and theological interest.

In 1911 the first volume appeared of the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri . . . " by Dr. A. S. Hunt, which dealt with the literary texts in the collection. These texts were reproduced *in extenso*, some of them in facsimile, and comprise many interesting Biblical, liturgical, and classical papyri, ranging from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Included are probably the earliest known text of the "Nicene Creed," also one of the earliest known vellum codices, containing a considerable fragment of the "Odyssey," probably of the last decades of the third century A.D., which is included amongst the papyrus documents with which its date and Egyptian provenance naturally associate it.

The second volume of this catalogue appeared in 1915. It dealt with the documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and was compiled by Dr. A. S. Hunt, J. de M. Johnson, and Victor Martin. The volume runs to upwards of 500 pages, and deals with 400 papyri, consisting mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character, as distinguished from the literary documents forming the subject

matter of the first volume. The chief interest centres in the description of the collection of carbonised papyri from Thmûis, which were found, without doubt, in the ruined buildings of Tell Timai, partly excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund during 1892-93, the chambers of which were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from that source. The students of New Testament Greek, and of the history of the period covered by this group of documents, especially in relation to law, economics, and taxation in Egypt during the Roman occupation, will find a mass of useful information, not only in the documents themselves, but in the exhaustive and illuminating notes by which they are accompanied.

In the same year (1915), another interesting quarto volume made its appearance, under the title : " Sumerian tablets from Umma in the John Rylands Library," transcribed, transliterated, and translated by C. L. Bedale. This volume was of considerable interest, since it made available for study the first batch of tablets from this particular site at Umma, which had been acquired for the library some years earlier at the suggestion of the late Professor Hogg and Canon Johns. The work of editing the collection was to have been undertaken by Professor Hogg, but death intervened, and Mr. Bedale, who succeeded him as lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Manchester, very gladly undertook the task with the assistance of Canon Johns, producing a piece of work which reflected credit not only upon the editor, but also upon the library.

In 1909 a series of reprints was commenced which was to be known as the " John Rylands Facsimiles," the object of which was to make more readily accessible to students, by means of faithful facsimile reproductions, some of the most interesting and important of the rarer books and prints which are in the possession of the library, and also to avert the disaster and loss to scholarship involved in the destruction by fire or otherwise of such unique and rare literary treasures, when they have not been multiplied by some such method of reproduction.

The first work to be treated in this way was the " Propositio Johannis Russell, printed by William Caxton, *circa* A.D., 1476," edited with an introduction by Henry Guppy. The library copy of this tract of six printed pages, from which the facsimile was prepared,

was for many years considered to be unique. Since then, however, another copy has been discovered in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall. It consists of the Latin oration, pronounced by the Chancellor of England, on the investiture of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the order of the Garter, in February, 1469, and is printed in the second fount of type employed by Caxton.

The second issue appeared in the following year (1910), and consisted of a reproduction of what is believed to be the sole surviving copy of a quaint little rhyming primer, which had the laudable object of instructing the young in the names of trades, professions, ranks, and common objects of daily life in their own tongue. The lists were rhymed, and therefore were easy to commit to memory, and they are pervaded by a certain vein of humour. The title of the volume is as follows: "A Booke in Englysh Metre, of the Great Marchaunt man called 'Dives Pragmaticus' . . . 1563." It was edited with an introduction by Percy E. Newberry; and remarks on the vocabulary and dialect with a glossary, by Henry C. Wyld.

The third issue, which appeared also in 1910, was the reproduction of a tract on the Pestilence, of nine leaves, written by Benedict Kanuti, or Knutsson, Bishop of Västerâs, of which three separate editions are known, but only one copy of each is believed to have survived. There is no indication in any edition of the place of printing, date or name of printer, but they are all printed in one of the first types employed by William de Machlinia, who printed in the city of London at the time when William Caxton was at the most active period of his career at Westminster. The title of the work is as follows: "A Litel Boke the whiche traytied and reherced many gode thinges necessaries for the . . . Pestilence . . . made by the Bishop of Arusiens . . ." [1485]. Edited, with an introduction, by Guthrie Vine.

The fourth publication of this series to make its appearance, in 1915, was a portfolio of facsimiles of eight early engravings, which are preserved in the library, under the title: "Woodcuts of the Fifteenth Century in the John Rylands Library. . . . With an introduction and descriptive notes by Campbell Dodgson." Two of the woodcuts dealt with are of exceptional interest, and have been known and celebrated for a century and a half, but had not hitherto been reproduced in a satisfactory and trustworthy manner by any of

the modern photo-mechanical processes. The two woodcuts referred to represent "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation," the former of which has acquired a great celebrity by reason of the unquestioned date (1423) which it bears, and which until recently gave it the unchallenged position of the first dated woodcut. These two have been reproduced in the exact colours of the originals as well as in monochrome. The metal dotted print of the "Passion" scene is probably the finest extant example of this description of engraving. Indeed, all the engravings reproduced are said to be unique.

The governors were fortunate in being able to secure the services of Mr. Dodgson, the recognised authority on such matters, in the preparation of the text, since the presence of his name on the title-page gives at once an authority and distinction to the volume.

The first two volumes of the "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts," compiled by Dr. M. Rhodes James, will, it is hoped, be in circulation by the time these pages are in print. This catalogue was commenced many years ago, in the first place by arrangement with the Earl of Crawford, and later under a new arrangement with Mrs. Rylands, the work on which has been continued, in the intervals of a very busy life by Dr. James. The manuscripts described in this first instalment of the catalogue comprise 183 rolls and codices. They include the small group contained in the Althorp Library, in addition to the Crawford collection, and a certain number of items which have since been acquired from the Phillipps and other sales.

The first volume will contain the catalogue proper, which extends to 400 pages, whilst the second will consist of a thoroughly representative set of about 200 facsimiles of characteristic pages of the manuscripts dealt with.

The first volume of the new and standard edition of the "Odes and Psalms of Solomon," edited by Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. A. Mingana, appeared in 1916. It furnished for the first time a facsimile of the original Syriac manuscript, now in the possession of the John Rylands Library, accompanied by a retranscribed text, with an attached critical apparatus.

This was followed in 1920 by the second volume, which comprises a new translation of the "Odes" in English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation, an exhaustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the

original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary of the text.

In 1917 there were republished in one volume, under the title "The Ascent of Olympus," four interesting articles by Dr. Rendel Harris on the Greek cults, which had appeared at intervals in the BULLETIN. They were republished as nearly as possible in their original form, but with some corrections, expansions, justifications, and additional illustrations.

Another volume which attracted great attention and elicited a good deal of healthy criticism at the time of its appearance, in the early part of 1918, consisted of an elaboration of three lectures delivered in the John Rylands Library by Professor G. Elliot Smith, on "The Birth of Aphrodite," "Incense and Libations," and "Dragons and Rain-gods," which make a substantial volume of 250 pages, with numerous illustrations, under the title of "The Evolution of the Dragon".

Two pieces of pioneer work were carried out in the course of 1909, which it was hoped would lead to far-reaching developments.

The first marked a new stage in library administration and co-operation, since it was the first catalogue of its kind to appear in this country or abroad. It consisted of a "Classified Catalogue of Works on Architecture and the Allied Arts in the Principal Libraries of Manchester and Salford," edited conjointly by the Librarian and Sub-Librarian, for the Joint Architectural Committee of the Manchester University and the Manchester Education Committee. It is a volume of 336 pages, in which the main entries are arranged according to the Dewey Decimal system of classification, followed by alphabetical author and subject indexes. By means of this guide, in which the location of the various books is clearly shown, it is possible to determine at a glance whether any particular work is contained in one or other of the twelve principal libraries of the district, and where.

The second of the volumes referred to above, the "Analytical Catalogue of the Contents of the Two Editions of the English Garner," was printed with the object of emphasising the need for analytical treatment of composite works of such a character. It was also intended to demonstrate the practicability of placing the work of one

library at the service of other libraries at a small cost, and for that reason it was printed in such a way that the entries could be cut up and utilised for insertion in any cumulative catalogue. It was also felt that it would be of service to the students of the history and literature of our own country, since it provides a key to a storehouse of pamphlets, broadsides, and occasional verses, which are collected in the "Garner," and are practically unobtainable elsewhere.

Other publications have been issued as occasion demanded in the form of descriptive catalogues of the exhibitions which were arranged from time to time in the main library, either to signalise the visit of some learned society, or to mark the commemoration of some anniversary of literary or historical interest. These need not be enumerated here, as they are briefly described in the accompanying list of publications, together with many other miscellaneous items which do not call for special mention.

In the year 1903 the publication of the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY was commenced with the object of providing a medium of communication between the library and its readers, and at the same time of making clear to all lovers of literature the great possibilities which such a library holds out. It was continued by annual issues until 1908, when, by reason of the exigencies of other work, it was found necessary to suspend publication until the more urgent claims of the library had been satisfied.

In October, 1914, publication was resumed in consequence of repeated inquiries for the BULLETIN, which seemed to reveal the real need for some such link between the library and those who were interested in its welfare.

Such was the enthusiastic welcome accorded to it in its revived form, coupled with the generous response on the part of scholars to our appeals for help in the shape of contributions, that we are encouraged to believe our aim to secure for this periodical, by the publication of a regular succession of original articles, a greater permanence as a literary organ, is at least in process of accomplishment. Many of these articles consist of elaborations of the lectures delivered in the library, the importance of which may be gathered by a glance at the accompanying list of reprints.

A certain number of catalogues and other publications are either in the printer's hands, ready for the press, or in active preparation.

The first is " A Catalogue of English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library ". This will be uniform with the catalogues of manuscripts, and will probably extend to 200 pages. It will consist of an accurate bibliographical description of the library's collection of English books printed before 1501, including of course the sixty Caxtons. It will furnish full collations, notes as to provenance, and incidentally, each volume, by means of this treatment, will be made to tell its own story, so often hidden in the prologues, epilogues, and colophons in which the early translators, editors, and printers delighted to indulge. It will be illustrated by facsimiles of pages from some of the rarer items in the collection.

The " Catalogue of Books in the John Rylands Library, printed in Great Britain, and of English Books printed abroad, between 1474 and 1640 " is also ready for the printer, and work upon it will be commenced as soon as ways and means render it practicable. It is calculated that it will form two or three quarto volumes, uniform with the preceding catalogue, and will furnish complete bibliographical descriptions of the rich collection of books with which it deals. It is designed to be of service not only to users of the library, but to bibliographers and students of English literature in general.

In the course of the examination and description of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts, upon which Dr. Mingana is at present engaged, many of them have been invested with a new importance by reason of the unusual palæographical, and textual interest which they have been found to possess.

One volume of modest appearance and dimensions has proved to be of quite exceptional importance, as may be gleaned from the following notes. It consists of an " Apology of the Muhammadan Faith," by a learned Muhammadan doctor, named Ali b. Rabbān at-Tabari.

The ninth century of the Christian era is marked by numerous apologetic works by Christians and Muhammadans, who lived not far from Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbaside dynasty of the Eastern caliphate. The names of Abu Nuh, Timotheus the Patriarch, and Ishak al-Kindi, among Christian apologists are known by all interested in Oriental learning. In particular the " Apology of the Christian Faith," by Al-Kindi can hardly be ignored by any educated Muslim, or by any educated Christian living with Muslims. But, as far as we are aware, hitherto no such apology of Islam, of so early a date, and of

such outstanding importance, by a Muhammadan has been known to exist. It is, therefore, gratifying to be able to announce that a work similar to that of Al-Kindi, has been found in our collection. The work is of first-rate importance to the Muslim, and not of less importance to every Oriental scholar, whilst to anyone interested in theological questions it must have an interest. It follows generally the apology of Al-Kindi, which the author probably intended to refute. The work contains about 130 long Biblical quotations to prove the divine mission of the Arabian prophet. These quotations follow the Syriac version of the Bible, said, in the manuscript, to have been translated by an unknown author called " Marcus the Interpreter ". If this Marcus may be identified with the Marcus mentioned in the " Fihrist " (p. 306), and among the writers preceding the time of the Prophet, the book would become of paramount importance for many questions dealing with the redaction of the Kur'an. The Syriac word *Mshabbha*, " the Glorious," wherever occurring in the Old Testament, is translated in Arabic by the word *Muhammad*. It is possible, therefore, that the Prophet having heard this word pronounced, wrote (S. vii, 156, etc.) that his name was found in the Sacred Books of the Christians and the Jews.

The writer is the physician and moralist 'Ali b. Rabbān at-Tabari, who died about A.D. 864. He wrote his book at the request of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861), at Baghdad in the year A.D. 850. The manuscript is a transcript of the autograph of Tabari himself, and is certainly the most seriously written book on the apologetic theme existing in our days.

The governors contemplate the publication of editions of the Arabic text, and also of an English translation, which have been prepared by Dr. Mingana. The manuscripts are ready for the press, and will be placed in the hands of the printer as soon as conditions are more favourable.

Other catalogues in preparation are—

" Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (codices). . . ." By Dr Alphonse Mingana.

" Catalogue of Arabic Papyri. . . ." By Professor Margoliouth.

" Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts. . . ." By Professor A. R. Nicholson.

"Catalogue of Samaritan Manuscripts. . . ." By Dr. A. E. Cowley

"Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts. . . ." By Dr. Rendel Harris.

"Catalogue of Greek Papyri. . . . Vol. 3. Documents of the Byzantine Period." By Dr. A. S. Hunt.

The following are the publications issued by the Library between 1899 and 1920.

Catalogues of Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library.

Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 1899. 3 vols. 4to.

Catalogue of books in the John Rylands Library printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of books in English printed abroad to the end of the year 1640. 1895. 4to, pp. iii, 147.

Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. By W. E. Crum, M.A. 1909. 4to. pp. xii, 273. 12 plates of facsimiles.

Catalogue of the Demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library. With facsimiles and complete translations. By F. Ll. Griffith, M.A. 1909. 3 vols. 4to.

Vol. 1. Atlas of facsimiles in collotype. Vol. 2. Lithographed hand copies of the earlier documents. Vol. 3. Key-list, translations, commentaries, and indexes.

Catalogue of the Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library. By Arthur S. Hunt, M.A., Litt.D., J. de M. Johnson, M.A., and Victor Martin, D. ès L. Vol. 1: Literary texts (Nos. 1-61). 1911. 4to, pp. xii, 204. 10 plates of facsimiles. Vol. 2: Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Nos. 62-456). 1916. 4to, pp. xx, 488. 23 plates.

The English Bible in the John Rylands Library, 1525 to 1640. By Richard Lovett. 1889. Fol., pp. xvi, 275, with 26 facsimiles and 39 engravings.

The John Rylands Facsimiles.

1. Propositio Johannis Russell. Printed by William Caxton, *circa* A.D. 1476. . . . With an introduction by Henry Guppy. 1909. 8vo, pp. 36, 8.
2. A booke in Englysh metre, of the great marchaunt man called "Dives Pragmaticus" . . . 1563. . . . With an introduction by Percy E. Newberry; and remarks on the vocabulary and dialect, with a glossary, by H. C. Wyld. 1910. 4to, pp xxxviii, 16.
3. A litil boke the whiche traytied and reherced many gode thinges necessaries for the . . . pestilence . . . made by the . . . Bisshop of Arusiens . . . [London,] [1485?]. . . . With an introduction by Guthrie Vine. 1910. 4to, pp. xxvi, 18.

4. Woodcuts of the fifteenth century in the John Rylands Library. Reproduced in facsimile. With an introduction and notes by Campbell Dodgson, 1915. Fol., 10 plates and 16 pp. of text, in a portfolio.

Exhibition Catalogues.

Catalogue of the manuscripts, books, and book-bindings exhibited at the opening of the John Rylands Library, October 6th, 1899. 1899. 8vo, pp. 41.

The John Rylands Library: a brief description of the building and its contents, with a descriptive list of the works exhibited in the main library. By Henry Guppy. 1902. 8vo, pp. 47.

Catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles in the John Rylands Library illustrating the history of the English versions from Wiclif to the present time. Including the personal copies of Queen Elizabeth, General Gordon, and Elizabeth Fry. 1904. 8vo, pp. 32.

Catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books exhibited in the John Rylands Library on the occasion of the visit of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches. 1905. 8vo, pp. 38.

A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents with catalogue of the selection of early printed Greek and Latin classics exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Classical Association in October MCMVI. 1906. 8vo, pp. 89, with plates.

Catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles in the John Rylands Library illustrating the history of the English versions from Wiclif to the present time, including the personal copies of Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth Fry, and others. 1907. 8vo, pp. vii, 55, with plates.

Catalogue of the selection of books and broadsides illustrating the early history of printing, exhibited in the John Rylands Library on the occasion of the visit of the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades in June, MCMVII. 1907. 8vo, pp. v, 34.

Catalogue of an exhibition of illuminated manuscripts, principally Biblical and liturgical, exhibited in the John Rylands Library on the occasion of the meeting of the Church Congress in October, MCMVIII. 1908. 8vo, pp. vii, 62, with plates.

Catalogue of an exhibition in the John Rylands Library of the original editions of the principal works of John Milton, arranged in celebration of the tercentenary of his birth. 1908. 8vo, pp. 24.

Catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Dante Alighieri, shown in the John Rylands Library from March to October, MCMIX. 1909. 8vo, pp. xii, 55.

Catalogue of an exhibition of original editions of the principal English Classics, shown in the John Rylands Library from March to October, MCMX. 1910. 8vo, pp. xv, 64.

Catalogue of an exhibition of manuscripts and printed copies of the Scriptures, illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible, shown in the

John Rylands Library from March to December, MCMXI. Tercentenary of the "Authorised version" of the English Bible: A.D. 1611-1911. 1911. 8vo, pp. xiv, 128, with plates.

Catalogue of an exhibition of mediæval manuscripts and jewelled book covers shown in the John Rylands Library from January XII to December, MCMXII, including lists of palæographical works and of historical periodicals in the John Rylands Library. 1912. 8vo, pp. xiii, 134, with plates.

A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents, with catalogue of a selection of manuscripts and printed books exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in October, MCMXII. With illustrations. Edited by Henry Guppy. 1912. 8vo, pp. x, 143.

Catalogue of an exhibition in the John Rylands Library of the works of Shakespeare, his sources, and the writings of his principal contemporaries. With an introductory sketch by Henry Guppy, and sixteen facsimiles. Tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare, April 23rd, 1916. 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 169.

— Second edition. 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 169.

Miscellaneous Publications.

An analytical catalogue of the contents of the two editions of "An English Garner," compiled by Edward Arber, 1877-97, and rearranged under the editorship of Thomas Seccombe, 1903-04. 1909. 8vo, pp. vii, ff. 221.

The ascent of Olympus. By Rendel Harris. 1917. 8vo, pp. 140. 20 illustrations.

Bibliographical notes for the study of the Old Testament. By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D. To accompany his lecture on how to study the Old Testament, delivered in the John Rylands Library, November 26th, 1913. 1913. 8vo, pp. 7.

Bibliographical notes for students of the New Testament. By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D. To accompany his lecture on how to study the New Testament. 1914. 8vo, pp. 10.

The Books of the Middle Ages and their makers. By Henry Guppy. An address delivered at the Educational Committee's Association's Conference held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on March 7th, 1908. 1908. 8vo, pp. 36.

A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents. By Henry Guppy. 1907. 8vo, pp. 53, with plates.

A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents, illustrated with 37 views and facsimiles. By Henry Guppy. 1914. 8vo, pp. xv, 73.

A brief sketch of the life and times of Shakespeare, with chronological table of the principal events. By Henry Guppy. Reprinted from the

"Catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Shakespeare. . . ." 1916. 8vo, pp. 30. Frontispiece.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Edited by the Librarian. 8vo. *In Progress.*

A classified catalogue of the works on architecture and the allied arts in the principal libraries of Manchester and Salford, with alphabetical author list and subject index. Edited for the Joint Architectural Committee of Manchester by H. Guppy and G. Vine. 1909. 8vo, pp. xxv, 310. Interleaved.

The evolution of the dragon. By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Illustrated. 1919. 8vo, pp. xx, 234.

Johann Gutenberg and the Dawn of typography in Germany. Lecture by the librarian on October 14th, 1903. With list of works exhibited at the John Rylands Library to illustrate the work of the first typographers in Germany, and a selection from the works in the library bearing upon the the subject. 1903. 8vo, pp. 15.

Memorial of the inauguration of the John Rylands Library, 6th October, 1899. Morning programme and brief description of the building. 1899. 8vo, pp. 23.

The movement of Old Testament scholarship in the nineteenth century. Synopsis of a lecture by . . . A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., delivered in the John Rylands Library on November 11th, 1903. With some leading dates in Pentateuch criticism. 1903. 8vo, pp. 8.

The odes and psalms of Solomon. Re-edited for the Governors of the John Rylands Library by Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana. 1916-20. 2 vols. 4to.

Vol. 1: The text, with facsimile reproductions.
Vol. 2: The translation, with introduction and notes.

The public library: its history and its functions. By Henry Guppy. An address delivered at the Educational Committees' Association Conference, held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on April 28th, 1906. 1906. 8vo, pp. 27.

Sumerian tablets from Umma in the John Rylands Library. Transcribed, transliterated, and translated by C. L. Bedale, M.A. . . . With a foreword by Canon C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Litt.D. 1915. 4to, pp. xvi, 16, with 10 facsimiles.

Synopsis of lectures delivered at the sixth meeting of the summer school of the North Western Branch of the Library Association held in the John Rylands Library on June 17th, 18th, and 19th, 1903. Lecturers: H. Guppy, G. Vine, J. Peacock, C. W. Sutton, J. Fazakerley. 1903. 8vo, pp. 16.

Synopsis of lectures delivered at the thirteenth meeting of the summer school of the North Western Branch of the Library Association held in the John Rylands Library. May 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1910. Lecturers: H. Guppy, G. Vine, J. Peacock, F. E. Nuttall. 1910. 8vo, pp. 39.

Synopsis of lectures delivered at the fifteenth meeting of the summer school of the North Western Branch of the Library Association held in the John Rylands Library, June 11th, 12th, 13th, 1913. Lecturers: H. Guppy, E. Parker, W. W. Roberts, M. Hompes, R. B. Fishenden, G. Vine, W. M. Menzies. 1913. 8vo, ff. 44.

REPRINTS FROM THE "BULLETIN".

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Herford (C. H.). Gabriele d'Annunzio. 1920. 8vo, pp. 27.

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Peake (A. S.). The quintessence of Paulinism. 1917-18. 8vo, pp. 31.

Perry (W. J.). War and civilisation. 1917-18. 8vo, pp. 27, with 9 sketch maps.

Poel (W.). Prominent points in the life and writings of Shakespeare, arranged in four tables. 1919. 8vo, pp. 12.

Poel (W.). Some notes on Shakespeare's stage and plays. 1916. 8vo, pp. 16, with 3 illustrations.

Powicke (F. J.). A Puritan idyll; or, Richard Baxter's love story. 1917-18. 8vo, pp. 35.

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Some early Judaeo-Christian documents in the John Rylands Library: Syriac texts. Edited with translations by Alphonse Mingana, D.D. 1. A new life of Clement of Rome. 2. The book of Shem, son of Noah. 3. Fragment from the philosopher Andronicus, and Asaph, the historian of the Jews. 1917. 8vo, pp. 62.

Souter (A.). List of abbreviations and contractions, etc., in the John Rylands Library manuscript no. 15. 1919. 8vo, pp. 7.

Synopsis of Christian doctrine in the fourth century according to Theodore of Mopsuestia. Edited by Alphonse Mingana, D.D. 1920. 8vo, pp. 21.

Thumb (A.). The modern Greek and his ancestry. 1914. 8vo, pp. 27.

Tout (T. F.). The captivity and death of Edward of Carnarvon. 1920. 8vo, pp. 49.

Tout (T. F.). The English civil service in the fourteenth century. 1916. 8vo, pp. 32.

Tout (T. F.). Mediæval and modern warfare. 1919. 8vo, pp. 28.

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Tout (T. F.). Mediæval forgers and forgeries. 1920. 8vo, pp. 31.

Tout (T. F.). Mediæval town planning. 1917. 8vo, pp. 35. 11 illustrations.

Works upon the study of Greek and Latin palæography and diplomatic in the John Rylands Library. 1903. 4to, pp. 15.

Admirable as the building is from the architectural point of view, it became evident within a few months of the opening of the library that adequate provision had not been made for the administrative requirements of such an institution, or for the growth and development of its collections. EXTENSION OF THE BUILDING.

Representations were consequently made to Mrs. Rylands, who, with her usual readiness to listen to any proposals which were calculated to increase the usefulness and efficiency of her foundation, at once undertook to equip two large book-rooms at the rear of the building, in one of which the manuscripts were later housed, and to furnish the basement with shelves. At the same time she caused inquiries to be made as to the possibility of acquiring land to provide for future extension. Unfortunately, the owners of the property adjoining the library were either unwilling to sell, or would only sell at a price which was prohibitive, so that the matter for the time being had to remain in abeyance.

No further action was taken until 1907, when a block of property, covering an area of 476 square yards, situated at the side of the library but not adjoining it, was purchased by Mrs. Rylands, for the purpose of erecting thereon a store-building on the stack principle, in the absence of a more suitable site. Mrs. Rylands was at that time in a rapidly failing state of health, and death intervened before the arrangements in pursuance of her intentions could be completed, or her testamentary wishes with regard to them could be obtained.

Beyond the clearance of the site nothing further had been done towards the utilisation of this land, when in 1909 circumstances arose which rendered such considerations unnecessary, since the governors were offered one plot of land at the rear of the library and immediately adjacent, and after somewhat protracted negotiations they were able to acquire not only that plot but also nine others, covering an area of nearly 1200 square yards. This was a source of great relief, for it provided not only for the future extension of the library, to meet the normal growth of its collections for at least a century, but at the same time it removed an element of great risk due to the proximity of some very dangerous property, parts of which were stored with highly inflammable material. It was also possible to create an island site of the library buildings, by arranging that an open space should be left between the new wing and the nearest of the adjoining property.

These purchases were completed in 1911, and a scheme for the utilisation of the newly acquired site was prepared, in which, briefly stated, the specified requirements to be met were as follows :—

One of the most urgent needs was accommodation for book-storage. This was to be provided by means of stacks of enamelled steel, divided into floors of a uniform height of 7ft. 6in., in order that every shelf should be within reach, without the aid of ladders.

In the matter of provision for administrative work the library was very deficient, with the result that much of the work had to be carried on under conditions which were far from satisfactory. This was to be remedied by the inclusion of: (*a*) an accessions-room, where the books could be received, checked, registered, and otherwise dealt with preparatory to their handling by the cataloguers; (*b*) a binding-room where the work of preparation for the binder could be carried out, and where repairs to valuable books and manuscripts could be effected under proper supervision by an imported craftsman, so as to obviate the risk involved in their removal to the binder's workshop; (*c*) a room for the assistant secretary, where the secretarial work could be carried out under proper conditions, and where the numerous account books could be kept together, and provision made for their safe custody.

In the original building no special arrangements had been made for the custody of manuscripts, since the initial stock included but a handful of such volumes. When the Crawford collection came to be transferred to the library by Mrs. Rylands, the only accommodation available was on the ground floor, where there was little natural light. Therefore, a new adequately lighted and specially equipped room was urgently needed to provide for the development of this rapidly increasing department of the library. Adjoining the manuscript-room a work-room was essential for the shelving of the necessary reference books, such as catalogues of manuscripts in other libraries, and the collection of works on palæography and diplomatic.

Hitherto no provision had been made for the staff in the way of common-rooms, and it was proposed that two such rooms should be provided, one for the men and the other for the women assistants, to serve as rest-rooms during the intervals between periods of duty. It was also proposed that a work-room should be provided in close proximity to the main reading-room, where the librarian could, when

necessary, escape the constantly increasing interruptions to which he has properly to submit when in his official room. Here also it was proposed to make provision for the storage of all library plans and official documents. A room was also needed for the storage of the publications issued by the library.

Another need which was making itself felt was additional accomodation for readers, and this, it was felt, could best be met by the provision of a new reading-room reserved for special research, similar to the inner room in the British Museum, where specially rare books could be consulted under proper supervision. The proposal was to place this room at a point of the site farthest from Deansgate, on the top of the large stack building, so as to provide the lightest and quietest room of the suite, where readers would be able to work in comfort surrounded by the general reference works arranged on open shelves, and at the same time be free from the distractions which are inevitable in the more public part of the library.

Communication between all the floors of the original building and the new wing was to be obtained by means of a new automatic electric lift, placed between the two sections of the building, and the various departments were also to be linked up by means of an internal system of telephones.

The experience gained during the twelve years of working had revealed the fact that the heating and ventilation systems were by no means satisfactory. It was considered advisable, therefore, to overhaul the installation with a view of securing much greater efficiency, whilst at the same time providing for the increased requirements of the extended range of buildings under contemplation.

One grave mistake which had been made in the original scheme of ventilation, which was on the " plenum " system, was to place the air inlets and fans at the pavement level in the side streets, which are always more or less foul. One of the first requirements, therefore, in the new block, was the erection of a shaft for the intake of air at the highest possible point, where it would be less polluted than at the street level, of a capacity sufficient to provide for the whole of the buildings, present and future.

After careful consideration by the governors these proposals were forwarded to Mr. Basil Champneys, the architect of the original structure, with a request that he would prepare designs for the contemplated

extension, in which the character and spirit of the original structure should be maintained, and in such a way that the work could be carried out in two sections.

The architect submitted his sketch plans in 1912, but it was not until the end of 1913 that work was commenced upon the first part of the scheme, which was to include all the specified provisions, except the larger stack-room and the large reading-room.

From beginning to end the matter bristled with difficulties, new problems having to be faced at every turn, such as a new system of drainage, and the reconstruction of the boiler-house to meet the requirements of the enlarged building in the matter of heating. Then the war intervened, bringing in its train new obstacles in the way of shortage of labour, and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary materials, with the inevitable result that work was at first retarded, and, for nearly eighteen months in 1918 and 1919 it was brought to a complete standstill. Fortunately, with the help of the late Sir George Macalpine, who, as Chairman of the Council of Governors and also of the Building Committee, rendered invaluable service, and of Mr. William Windsor, the surveyor, who was untiring in his efforts to expedite the work, these difficulties were surmounted one by one, until, in July of last year, the contractors having completed their undertaking, it was with a sense of relief that the first portion of the new wing was brought into use, and the work of the library has since been greatly facilitated.

With the completion of the first part of our scheme, providing as it does shelf accommodation for an additional 150,000 volumes, much of which, it should be pointed out, has already been taken up by the accumulations of the last few years, the immediate cause for anxiety has been removed.

When, however, it is understood that the normal rate of growth during the past twenty-one years has averaged something like 10,000 volumes per year, it will be realised that within the next decade the need for further shelf-accommodation will again become urgent, and it will be necessary to consider ways and means for carrying out the deferred part of the scheme, under which it is estimated that the requirements of the library both in respect of book storage and also of seating accommodation for readers for at least the remainder of the present century have been fully anticipated.

In pre-war days the income of the library was considered to be

adequate to meet not only the cost of maintenance and ordinary book purchase, but also to allow of the creation of a reserve fund from which to meet such contingencies as are represented by exceptional book purchases, dilapidations, and building extension. Such, however, have been the financial effects of the war, that an income that was considered to be ample for all purposes in 1914 is now barely sufficient to meet the current and growing needs of the institution, if it is to be kept abreast of the times; so that the provision of anything in the nature of a reserve fund is practically out of the question, and we can only hope that some enlightened benefactor, will conceive the desire of taking up the work inaugurated by Mrs. Rylands, and by so doing assist the governors not only to carry it on in the spirit and intention of the founder, but to develop it along lines which shall yield still greater results in the stimulation of original investigation, and in the encouragement of scholarship.

CONTENTS OF THE LIBRARY.

It is impossible within the limits of such a short article as the present to convey anything like an adequate idea of the wealth of rare and precious volumes which the library contains, and which merit extended notice, for, to do justice to any one of the many sections, would require a volume of considerable length; and yet, it would be obviously incomplete without some reference, however brief, to at least a few of the most noteworthy of the features which have made it famous in the world of books.

Apart from any other consideration we feel this to be necessary, for we are constantly reminded of the fact that there are still many students interested in the various fields of research which the library covers, who have but a vague idea of the range and character of its contents.

EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.

One of the most noteworthy of its features is the collection of books printed before the year 1501, numbering upwards of 3000 volumes. These books have been arranged upon the shelves of the room specially constructed for their accommodation, and known as "The Early Printed Book Room," in such a way as to show at a glance the direction which the art of printing took in the course of its progress and development across Europe.

Commencing with the specimens of block-printing, those immediate

precursors of the type-printed book, which may be described as the stepping-stones from the manuscript to that remarkable development which took place in the middle of the fifteenth century with the invention of the printing press, the first object to claim attention is the famous block-print of "Saint Christopher," bearing an inscription, and the date 1423. This, the earliest known piece of European printing to which an unquestioned and, until recently, unchallenged date is attached, and of which no other copy is known, is alone sufficient to make the library famous. From the single leaf prints, of which there are in addition several undated examples, some of which may belong to a slightly earlier period, to the block-books was the next step in the development. These block-books were mostly made up from single leaves, printed only on one side of the paper from engraved slabs or blocks of pear or apple wood, cut on the plank, and then made up into books by being pasted back to back. Fourteen of these volumes are preserved in the library, of which nine may be assigned conjecturally to the period between 1440 and 1450. The best known are the "Apocalypsis," the "Biblia Pauperum," the "Ars Moriendi," the "Ars Memorandi," and the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis".

Of the earliest examples of the type printed books, assuming that the first press was set up at Mainz, we possess copies of the "Letters of Indulgence" printed in 1454 and 1455 respectively; the two splendid Latin Bibles, technically known as the "36-line," and the "42-line," from the number of lines to a column, and popularly known as the "Pfister or Bamberg Bible," and the "Mazarin Bible"; the "Mainz Psalter" of 1457, 1459, and 1490, the first of which, believed to be the only perfect copy known of the 143-leaved issue, is the first book to contain particulars of date, place, and printers. Of these, and the other productions of the press or presses at Mainz, with which the names of Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer are associated, the library possesses no fewer than fifty examples. By means of the examples from the other presses to be found on the shelves of this room, it is possible to follow the art, step by step, in its progress through Germany, where printing was carried on in at least fifty-one towns by not fewer than 219 printers, before the close of the fifteenth century.

Though the printing press was born in Germany, the full flower

of its development was first reached in Italy, at that time the home of scholarship. The first printers of Italy were two migrant Germans, Sweynheym and Pannartz, who set up their press in the Benedictine monastery at Subiaco, in 1465. With the exception of the "Donatus," of which not even a fragment of the 300 copies printed is known to survive, there is a copy of every book mentioned by these printers in their famous catalogue of 1472. From that date (1465) to 1500 the progress of the art in Italy was quite phenomenal. Within five years of the establishment of the first press in Venice, by another German, named John of Spire, in 1469, printing had been introduced into most of the chief towns in Italy, and before the end of the century presses had been set up in seventy-three towns. In Venice alone at least 151 presses had been started, and something approaching two millions of volumes had been printed, before the close of the fifteenth century, an output which exceeded the total of all the other Italian towns put together. These presses are well represented in the John Rylands collection, and it is possible in most cases to exhibit the first work produced by the respective printers. Of one specimen of early Venetian printing mention may be made; it is the first edition of Boccaccio's "Decameron," printed by Valdarfer in 1471, of which no other perfect copy is known. Of the early productions of the Neapolitan presses the library possesses many examples, several of which are the only recorded copies. The printers of Basle are well represented, as also are the printers of Paris, Lyons, and the other centres of printing in France, Holland, and Belgium.

Turning to the shelves devoted to England, we find that of genuine Caxtons the library possesses sixty examples, four of which are unique. The collection includes the first book printed in English at Bruges; "The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye," the first dated book printed at Westminster; "The Dictes or Sayengis of the philosophres," "The Advertisement," "Malory's Morte d'Arthur," and the "Propositio Johannis Russell," of each of the three last named only one other copy is known.

Of the works of the later printers in London: Wynkyn de Worde, Lettou, Machlinia, Pynson, Notary, and of the Schoolmaster printer of St. Albans, the library possesses many examples, whilst of the early Oxford books there are nine, including the famous "Expositio" of Rufinus, with the misprinted date of 1468.

There are a few of the monuments of early printing which, to the number of 3000, three-fourths of which were printed before 1480, are to be found upon the shelves of the Early Printed Book Room, the majority of them remarkable for their excellent state of preservation, and a considerable proportion of them printed on vellum.

ALDINE PRESS.

Not less remarkable than the "Incunabula" is the collection of books printed at the famous Venetian press, founded by the scholar-printer Aldus, in or about the year 1494. The collection is considered to be the largest ever brought together, numbering as it does upwards of 800 volumes, many of them printed on vellum. Few men in his own, or in any age, have done more for the spread of knowledge than Aldus. His earliest aim seems to have been to rescue the masterpieces of Greek literature from the destruction ever impending over a few scattered manuscripts, but he did not by any means confine his attention to the Greek classics, though the achievements of his Latin press are not so distinguished as those of his Greek press. It was Aldus who was responsible for the introduction of the famous *Italic* type, which he first employed in printing the Vergil of 1501, and which is said to be a close copy of the handwriting of Petrarch. The closeness of this new type enabled the printer to make up his sheets into a size of volume that could easily be held in the hand, and readily carried in the pocket. At the same time the new type also allowed him to compress into the small dainty format, by which the press of Aldus is best remembered, as much as the purchaser could heretofore buy in a large folio. Aldus died in 1516, but his printing establishment continued in active operation until 1597, a period of 102 years. The collection also comprises a considerable number of the counterfeit Aldines.

BIBLE COLLECTION.

Equally noteworthy are the Bibles which have been brought together in the "Bible Room," comprising copies of all the earliest and most famous texts and versions, together with the later revisions and translations, from the Mainz edition of the Latin Vulgate of about 1455 to the "Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures," 1913, etc. Indeed the Bible collection may be looked upon as the complement of the other collections, since, between the printing of the first and the last editions, an interval of four and a half centuries, it shows the progress and comparative development of the art of printing in a manner that no other single book can. As the

art of printing made its way across Europe, the Bible was generally the first, or one of the first, books to be printed by many of the early printers. Four editions of the Bible in Latin, and two great Latin Psalters had appeared in type before a single volume of the classics had been dealt with in a similar way. The earliest printed Bibles were of the Latin Vulgate, and of this version alone upwards of one hundred editions had appeared before the close of the fifteenth century. The most important of these editions, to the number of sixty-four, thirty-two of which have been added to the collection during the period under review, are to be found in the Bible Room, together with many of the editions of the sixteenth and later centuries.

The collection also includes the four great Polyglots, printed at Alcala (Complutum), Antwerp, Paris, and London respectively; the Greek texts from the Aldine "editio princeps" of 1518, with the facsimiles of the principal codices, and all the important editions down to that of Von Soden, issued in 1911-13; and the Hebrew texts commencing with the Bologna and Soncino portions of 1477 and 1485, followed by a long series of editions down to and including the current texts of Ginsburg and Kittel. Of the translations into German, French, Italian, Icelandic, Danish, Dutch, Bohemian, Polish, Slavonic, Spanish, Welsh, Manx, Gaelic, Irish, and Chinese, the earliest, almost without exception, and the most important of the later editions are represented, many of the copies being of exceptional interest, if not unique. Indeed, if we include the more modern translations of the whole Bible or parts of it, issued by the various Bible Societies, upwards of four hundred languages or dialects are represented in the collection.

The English section illustrates very fully the history of the English versions from Wiclif (of which there are twelve manuscript copies) to the present day, including such rarities as Tindale's "Pentateuch," his "Testaments" of 1534 and 1536; the "Coverdale Bible" of 1535, and the "Matthew Bible" of 1537, to mention only a few of the outstanding items.

GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS.

On the classical side the library is pre-eminently rich, with its remarkable series of early and fine impressions of the Greek and Latin classics, which, with few exceptions, still retain the freshness they possessed when they left the hands of the printers four hundred years ago. On the occasion of the

holding of the annual conference of the Classical Association in Manchester in 1906, we were able to exhibit of the fifty principal Greek and Latin writers the first printed edition of each, including the only known copy of the "Batrachomyomachia" of 1474, which has the distinction of being the first printed Greek classic. The value of such a series, apart from typographical considerations, as aids to textual criticism, is obvious enough when it is remembered that many of the manuscripts from which these texts were printed have since perished. Of Cicero alone there are seventy-eight editions of such of his works as were printed before 1501. With scarcely an exception the collection contains not only the first, but the principal editions of the Greek and Latin writers, together with all the modern critical apparatus, and the facsimiles of the famous codices, which have been issued within recent years.

ITALIAN CLASSICS.

Of the great masters of Italian literature the library possesses a considerable collection. The Dante collection alone numbers upwards of 6000 volumes, including five manuscripts; and is specially rich in early editions of the "Divina Commedia," comprising the three earliest printed editions of 1472, issued respectively at Foligno, Jesi, and Mantua, and two copies of the Florentine edition of 1481 with Landino's commentary, one of which contains the twenty engravings executed by Baldini in imitation of Sandro Botticelli. The collection of Boccaccio's "Il Decamerone" consists of eight fifteenth century editions, including the only known perfect copy of the "editio princeps," printed at Venice by Valdarfer, in 1471, and a long series of sixteenth century and later editions. Many other names are equally well represented, as are also the writers of the sixteenth and later centuries down to the present day.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The department of English literature is remarkable for its richness. It is not possible to do more than mention a few names, therefore the extent of the collection must not be estimated by the limited number of works to which specific reference is made. Shakespeare is well represented with two sets of the four folios, the "Sonnets" of 1609 and 1640, and a long range of the later and the critical editions. Of Chaucer there are the earliest as well as the principal later editions, commencing with the "Canterbury Tales" of 1478. These are followed by a long series of the original editions of Ben Jonson, Spenser, Milton, Bunyan,

Drayton, and the other great classics of England, including a large number of the smaller pieces of Elizabethan literature. On the modern side there is an equally representative collection of the original issues of the works of the principal writers such as Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Byron, and Lamb, to mention only one or two of the outstanding names, together with all the modern critical literature which students are likely to require in conducting their research.

FRENCH, SPANISH, GERMAN, AND OTHER LITERATURES.

In French literature the library is particularly rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, including a number of finely illustrated editions of the great classics, whilst the modern writers, comprising the more recent schools of poetry, together with the critical literature surrounding them, are to be found abundantly represented.

There is an excellent collection of Spanish and of German literature, and to a lesser degree of Portuguese and Russian, whilst the other minor literatures have not been neglected. Indeed, the student of comparative literature will find here most of the authorities he is likely to need for consultation in the course of his investigations. Not only will he find the masterpieces of literature, those great books which have been made great by the greatness of the personalities that gave them life, but he will find them surrounded by the wide range of critical literature to which they have given rise.

PHILOLOGY.

The departments of classical philology, and of Oriental and modern European languages, include all the important reference books, with the working material necessary for linguistic studies.

HISTORY.

The historical section which has been gradually and systematically built up by well-selected purchases, commences to attain some measure of completeness, so that students, whether of the ancient, classical, mediæval, or modern periods, will find the library's range very comprehensive. It is well equipped in the matter of the great historical collections, such as : Rymer, Rushworth, Montfaucon, Pertz, Muratori, the " Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," " Le Recueil des Historiens des Gaules," " Gallia Christiana," " Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France," " Commission Royale d'histoire de Belgique," " Chroniken der deutschen Städte," the various " Collections des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France," the " Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials," the " Calendars of State Papers," the

"Acta Sanctorum" of the Bollandists, the collections of Wadding, Manrique, Holstenius-Brockie, the principal editions of the mediæval chroniclers, together with the publications of the most important of the archæological and historical societies of this country, and of Europe generally, as well as of America, and the principal historical periodicals of this and other countries. Quite recently special attention has been given to the history of India and America, with the result that collections of some thousands of volumes have been obtained, with a view of encouraging research in these fields of study. For the history of India the collection of research material, both manuscript and printed, is very extensive, consisting of state papers, government reports and publications, many of which, printed in remote parts of India, would have been unprocurable but for the generous assistance rendered by the Secretary of State for India. For the history of the East India Company and Warren Hastings, the material is especially rich. The student of American history will find, in addition to many of the rare early printed sources and the standard modern authorities, a collection of the publications and transactions of historical associations of the various states. The collection of pamphlets, numbering upwards of 15,000, is of extreme importance, offering valuable original material for research for the study of the Civil War, the Popish Plot, the Revolution of 1688, the Non-Juror controversy, the Solemn League and Covenant, of English politics under the first three Georges, and to a lesser extent for the French Revolution. The few titles and topics mentioned are only intended to indicate the wide scope of the library, covering as it does the whole field of history, from the ancient Empires of the East, through the Greek and Roman periods, down to the present day. In a later paragraph we shall refer to the rapidly growing collection of manuscript material, consisting of charters and other documents awaiting investigation.

The topographical and genealogical collections, which are very extensive, should also be mentioned as of importance. Indeed, every effort is being used to make this department of the library still more efficient to meet the requirements of the students engaged on special research. Reference should also be made to the fact that many of the county histories, biographies, and special histories, have been extra illustrated, with the result that the library contains pictorial matter in the form of tens of thousands of prints, representing persons and places, many of which are of extreme rarity.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Theology occupies a prominent place in the library by reason of the special character that was impressed upon it from its inception. The original intention of the founder was to establish a library, the chief purpose of which should be the promotion of the higher forms of religious knowledge. It is true the scope of the institution was enlarged by the purchase of the Althorp collection, but in the selection of the 200,000 volumes which have been acquired since 1899, the governors have steadily kept in view the founder's original intention. Reference has already been made to the Biblical texts. In the matter of patristic and scholastic theology the library is very rich, especially in the early printed texts, whilst of the Benedictine editions of the Fathers there is a complete set. The liturgical section is very strong, its collections of early missals and breviaries being specially noteworthy. There are twenty missals printed between 1475 and 1504, including the famous Mozarabic text of 1500, and eight breviaries printed before 1500, most of which are on vellum. "The Book of Common Prayer" is represented by a long and interesting range of editions, including two of the first, issued in London in 1549, the rare quarto edition printed at Worcester in the same year, and Merbeck's "Common Prayer Noted," of 1550, followed by all the important revisions and variations. There are a number of the early Primers, and fifty editions of the dainty Books of Hours printed in Paris in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The works of the reformers are well represented, with a large number of Luther's tracts, including the original edition, in book form, of the famous "Theses," printed in 1517, and his "Catechismus" of 1529, and a number of the earliest printed works of Erasmus, Hutten, Melanchthon, Savonarola, Zwingli, Tindale, Frith, Roy, Coverdale, Calvin, Knox, and Bunyan; the great devotional books such as St. Augustine's "Confessions," the "Imitatio Christi," the "Speculum Vitæ Christi," the "Scala perfectionis," the "Ars moriendi," and the "Ordinary of Christian Men" are all to be found in the earliest, and in the later editions of importance. On the modern side the student will find the library fully equipped in the departments of Biblical criticism, dogmatic theology, liturgiology, hagiography, church history, and comparative religion.

The ancient, mediæval, and modern schools of philosophy are fully represented, especially in metaphysics, experimental psychology, and psychical science.

Sociology both on its political and economic side, and from the side of legal history, is well provided for, whilst in constitutional law and history, international law, and Roman law and jurisprudence, the equipment is thoroughly representative, including a special collection of the principal texts and commentaries of Justinian. The subject of Education is also well represented, both from the historical point of view, as from the standpoint of theory and practice. The works of the early humanist educators in the original editions will be found, side by side with the leading authorities in each department and period down to the present day, including a set of the " Monumenta Germaniæ Pedagogica ". SOCIOLOGY.

Bibliography, which may be regarded as the grammar of literary investigation, is extremely well represented. One of the foremost aims of the library, from the outset, has been to provide the student, in whatever direction his studies may lie, with a bibliography of his subject, when one exists, as the most essential tool of research. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A special feature of the library is the periodical room, in which are made accessible to students the leading periodicals of all countries, to the number of nearly 400, dealing with such subjects as history, philology, philosophy, theology, literature, art, and archæology. The current numbers lie open for consultation, and with very few exceptions, complete sets of each from its commencement are in the possession of the library, constituting in many cases an unexplored mine of valuable research material. PERIODICALS.

Another of the outstanding features of the library is the collection of Oriental and Western manuscripts, the nucleus of which consisted of a small group of less than a hundred examples contained in the Althorp collection. These have been added to from time to time as opportunities have occurred, but the present magnificence and character of the collection was determined by the acquisition in 1901 of the manuscripts of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, consisting of nearly 6000 rolls, tablets, and codices. From that time forward every effort has been employed to develop and enrich the collection along lines which already have been productive of excellent results in the stimulation of research. MANUSCRIPTS.

As evidence of the success which has attended these efforts, it needs only to be pointed out that the collection now numbers upwards

of 10,000 manuscripts, illustrating not only the history of writing and illumination, but also the history of the materials and methods which have been employed from the earliest times for the preservation and transmission of knowledge from one age to another, and at the same time offering to students in many departments of research original sources of great interest and importance.

On the Oriental side the languages represented are the following : Abyssinian, Armenian, Ethiopic, Sanskrit, Pali, Panjabi, Hindustani, Marathi, Parsi, Pehlevi, Burmese, Canarese, Singhalese, Tamil, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Javanese, Achinese, Mongolian, Balinese, Thibetan, Mo-So, Batak, Bugi, Kawi, Madurese, Makassar, and Mexican.

Of more general interest are the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, numbering nearly 2000 volumes, a preliminary examination of which has led to the discovery of several inedited texts of far-reaching importance, notably an unrecorded apology of Islam, written at Baghdad in 850 A.D. The examples of the Kurān, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, in the stately Cufic and Nashki characters, are in many cases of surpassing beauty and rarity, three of them being written throughout in letters of gold.

Amongst the papyrus rolls and fragments are examples of the "Book of the Dead" both in hieroglyphic and hieratic, and large and important collections of Demotic, Coptic, Arabic, and Greek documents.

There are several very fine Gospel books in the collection of Greek codices, but the most important member of the group is a considerable fragment of the "Odyssey," possibly of the later decades of the third century of the present era, which consequently takes rank among the earliest examples of vellum books which have come down to us.

In Syriac the library possesses a vellum codex of the Peshitta Gospels of the sixth century, and what is probably the earliest known complete New Testament of the Heraclean version, written about A.D. 1000, besides a number of other outstanding texts which await examination. By far the most noteworthy manuscript in this language is that which enshrines the "Odes and Psalms of Solomon," discovered by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1909, and which already has excited such world-wide interest that quite a library of literature has grown

up around it. The Hebrew collection comprises a number of fine "Rolls of the Law," and of the "Megilloth," several illuminated codices of the "Haggadah," and a number of liturgical texts. In Samaritan there is a remarkable group of Biblical and liturgical codices, including a very interesting vellum copy of the "Pentateuch" written A.D. 1211.

Amongst recent acquisitions on the Oriental side is a collection of upwards of a hundred palm-leaf manuscripts of the Buddhist scriptures in Pali, Singhalese, Burmese, and Thibetan, many of which are of exquisite workmanship. Another group of considerable importance on account of their extreme rarity, consists of about a hundred pieces of undetermined antiquity, in the language of the Mo-So people, a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, which are written in picture characters on a thick Oriental paper of uneven texture, apparently brown with age.

Turning to the Western manuscripts, whether produced in England, Flanders, France, Germany, Italy, or Spain, there are some hundreds, comprising examples of first class quality of the art and calligraphy of the great mediæval writing schools of Europe, ranging from the sixth to the nineteenth century, and covering a wide range of subjects including: Biblical, liturgical, and patristic texts, hagiography, theology, classics, chronicles, histories, charters, papal bulls, pedigrees, heraldry, law, science, and alchemy. Many of these manuscripts are encased in jewelled and enamelled bindings in metal and ivory, dating from the tenth to the twelfth century, which impart to them a character and value of a very special kind.

During the last few years considerable additions have been made to this Western section, many of which are of considerable historical importance, including a number purchased at recent sales of the collections of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps. The following items, taken almost at random, may be mentioned as indicating the character of these recent acquisitions: Cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey at York, Warden Abbey, Tolethorpe, Melsa, and one volume of that of Fountains Abbey; several early papal bulls; an interesting collection of briefs, patents, wills, marriage contracts, deeds of gift and other documents relating to the Medici family, from the Medici Archives; a number of wardrobe and household expenses books of King Edward I, King Edward II, Queen Philippa of Hainault, Queen

Joan of Navarre, and Queen Catherine of Aragon ; a treasury account book of King Charles VI of France ; a fourteenth century chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy and Kings of England ; a large number of court and manor rolls ; the original collections of Sir John and Sir Henry Savile for the history of Yorkshire ; two fifteenth century manuscripts of Richard Rolle of Hampole ; a fifteenth century illustrated chronicle in roll form ; a fourteenth century Latin Bible on uterine vellum ; a palimpsest Icelandic manuscript of laws promulgated in Iceland from 1281 to 1541, and many other documents which are of interest to students of diplomatic as representing the legal and court hands of the same period, comprising all aspects of the study, and including about 2000 charters, of which 100 were acquired at the recent sale of the Baroness Beaumont's collection.

With a view of providing for the wider interest in the study of Greek and Latin palæography and diplomatic, which may be looked for as a result of the development of this side of historical and classical study at the University in recent years, every effort has been made to provide as complete an equipment as possible of the principal authorities, with the result that the collection now numbers upwards of 1000 volumes, covering all branches of the subject, and including catalogues of the manuscripts in the principal public and private collections throughout the world, whether dispersed or still existing.

HISTORIC BOOKS.

The library possesses a large number of books which have an interest in themselves as coming from the libraries of such famous collectors as Grolier, Thomas Maioli, Canevari, Marcus Laurinus, De Thou, Comte d'Hoym, Duc de La Vallière, Loménie de Brienne, Diane de Poitiers, Henri II, Margaret de Valois, Marie de Medicis, Charles d'Angoulême, the French and the English Kings and Queens, Thomas Wotton, who has come to be known as the English Grolier, many Popes and lesser church dignitaries, and others too numerous to mention. As an indication of the interest surrounding such volumes, mention may be made of a few taken at random. There is a copy on vellum of the " Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherum " of Henry VIII, for which he received the title " Defensor Fidei," and which he presented to Louis II, King of Hungary, with an inscription in his own handwriting " Regi Daciae," on the binding of which are the arms of Pope Pius VI. The Aldine edition of Petrarch of 1501, is from the library of Cardinal Bembo,

and contains marginalia in his handwriting. If, as one authority has declared, "To own one or two examples from Jean Grolier's library is to take high rank as a bibliophile," this library merits a commanding position, since it possesses thirteen such volumes, one of which contains this collector's autograph, whilst another is filled with marginalia said to be in his handwriting. The copy of the first edition of the "Epistolæ obscurorum virorum," the tract which caused so great a stir at the time of the Reformation, belonged to Philip Melanchthon, and contains many marginalia from his pen. Martin Luther's "In primum librum Mose ennarationes" 1544, has upon its title-page an inscription in Hebrew and Latin, in Luther's handwriting, presenting the book to Marc Crodel, rector of the College of Torgau. Other volumes notable by reason of their ownership are: the "Book of Hours" which belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, having two inscriptions in her handwriting; the manuscript copy of Wiclif's Gospels, which was presented to Queen Elizabeth in Cheapside when on her way to St. Paul's, an event which is recorded in Holinshed's "Chronicles"; the "Book of Hours" of King Charles VII of France; the Psalter which belonged to Queen Joan of Navarre, the second consort of our King Henry IV, bearing her autograph; the "Book of Devotions" written and illuminated by or for the Abbot John Islip, the builder of the Chantry Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, bearing in the illuminated borders the same punning rebus on his name which is to be found in the carvings of the Chapel, and presented to Henry VII, with the arms of the King on the binding; the gorgeous "Missale Romanum" with many illuminations by Clovio, bearing the arms of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna and said to have been presented to him when he was raised to the Cardinalate; the Gospel Book which belonged to the Emperor Otto the Great, bearing on one of its illuminated pages his effigy. Coming nearer to our own day there is the Bible which Elizabeth Fry used daily for many years, which is full of marks and comments in her handwriting. The Bible from Hawarden Church is of interest as being the identical copy from which W. E. Gladstone frequently read the lessons in the course of divine service between 1884 and 1894. There is also the original manuscript of Bishop Heber's hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains". Another volume of more than ordinary interest, the "Valdarfer Boccaccio," to which reference has been made

already, came into prominence at the sale of the Duke of Roxburghe's books in 1812, when it realised the sum of £2260. It was in honour of the sale of the volume that the Roxburghe Club was founded. The copy of the Glasgow Æschylus of 1759 has bound up with it the original drawings of Flaxman, and is clothed in a binding by Roger Payne, which is always spoken of as his masterpiece. Such are a few of the books possessing a personal history, which, in considerable numbers are to be found upon the shelves.

FAMOUS BINDINGS.

If the books themselves excite interest and admiration, not less striking is the appropriateness, and often the magnificence of their bindings. Lord Spencer believed that a good book should be honoured by a good binding, and he either sought out copies so distinguished or had them clothed in bindings of the highest artistic excellence. Of the many specimens in the library illustrating the history of the art from the fifteenth century to the present day, we need only refer to the great artists who worked for the famous collectors named in the preceding paragraph as figuring in the collection, with examples of the work of Clovis and Nicolas Eve, Le Gascon, Boyet, the two Deromes, the Padeloups, Geoffrey Tory, Bozerian, Thouvenin, Mearne, the English masters of the seventeenth century, whose names, unhappily, have been forgotten, and of Roger Payne, the man who by native genius shines out among the decadent craftsmen of the late eighteenth century as the finest binder England has produced. The library possesses the largest collection extant of Payne's bindings, including the Glasgow "Æschylus," already referred to as his finest work, and the unfinished Aldine "Homer," which he did not live to complete. Several of Payne's bills are in the library, which are remarkable documents, containing, as they do, in many cases, interesting particulars as to his methods of workmanship. The tradition of fine binding was continued after his death by certain German binders, Kalthoeber, Staggemeier, and others, who settled in London, also by Charles Lewis and Charles Hering, who especially imitated his manner, but lacked the original genius of Payne, and his delicacy of finish. Many specimens of the work of these successors of Payne are to be found scattered throughout the library. The library is almost equally rich in specimens of the work of the great modern binders, especially since the advent of the Lloyd Roberts Collection. These include the work achieved by Trautz-Bauzonnet, David, Lortic, Marius Michel, Chambolle-Duru, Cuzin, Edwards of Halifax, Francis Bed-

ford, Rivière, Cobden Sanderson, Prideaux, Fazakerley, and Zaehnsdorf, to mention the most prominent names. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the whole history of the art of binding might be written from the examples assembled on the shelves of this library.

We can only make a brief reference to the thirty jewelled covers with which some of the manuscripts are adorned, which impart to them a character and value of a very special kind. The extraordinary rarity of these metal and ivory bindings may be gauged by the fact that this collection, whilst containing only thirty examples, yet ranks third among the collections of the world. Many of the covers are of great beauty and interest, none the less so for the process of building up which they have undergone in long past centuries. The normal course seems to have been as follows : a monastery owned a precious tenth century "textus" or manuscript of the Gospels ; it also possessed an ivory "pax" or tablet carved with one or more scenes from the life of Christ, of, perhaps, a century later. A century later still it occurred to some rich abbot to have the second mounted as a cover for the first, and he would call in some jeweller or metal worker from Cologne or Liège, who would encase the tablet in a metal frame richly encrusted with jewels, which had been bequeathed to the church for the enrichment of the reliquary or the altar books, to make the same into a binding to protect the manuscript. Several of the covers to which reference is made partake of the character of reliquaries, since under the four huge rock crystals set at each of the four corners, relics of saints have been preserved ; unfortunately no information is at present available to enable us to determine the identity of the saints so honoured.

The collection also includes a number of very fine Oriental bindings, of which the Persian specimens in particular are of very great beauty.

Then it should be mentioned that for the study of this art or craft, whether from the historical or practical point of view, there is a complete equipment of the principal authorities.

Much might have been written about the large and growing collection of "unique" books, that is to say printed books of which the only known copy is in the possession of the library, but we must content ourselves with this passing allusion to it. Of books printed on vellum the collection numbers upwards of 400, many of which are of extreme rarity, and also of great beauty. There are a number of very fine extra-illustrated or "Grangerised" works, such as Rapin's

"History of England" in twenty-one folio volumes; Pennant's "Some Account of London" in six volumes; Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England" in twenty-one volumes; Shakespeare in seventeen volumes; Chalmers' "Biographical Dictionary" in thirty-two volumes; and many others.

There is a complete set of the astronomical works of Hevelius, seldom found in a condition so perfect. Although ornithology and botany are somewhat out of the range of the library's interests, there is a fine collection of the great bird books of Audubon, Gould, Dresser, and Lilford, to name the principal authorities; and a number of the great herbals, ranging from the Latin and German editions of the "Herbarius" of 1484 and 1485, to Sander's "Reichenbachia" of 1888-94, including the original or best editions of Gerard, Parkinson, Curtis, Jacquin, Dodoens, Culpepper, etc.

The art section comprises the great European "galleries," the principal monographs on the great masters, a complete set of the works of Piranesi, a set of Turner's "Liber Studiorum" in the best states, and a large collection of works on architecture. The applied arts are also well represented. Indeed, the art student will find abundant material in whatever direction his quest may lead him.

We have already greatly exceeded the number of pages which we had allotted to ourselves for the purpose of this hurried glance at the contents of the library, and yet only the fringe of a few of the most important collections have been touched upon in the most superficial way, whilst many sections have had to be passed over entirely. We hope, however, that these hurriedly written and necessarily discursive notes may serve the purpose we had in view, of conveying some idea of the importance of this carefully chosen collection of the world's literary masterpieces, in the earliest and best editions, many of which are in the finest possible condition and state of preservation.

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS.

We cannot conclude this brief review of the history of the library during the years of its minority without some reference to the ever increasing appreciation of the institution and its work which has found expression in the numerous gifts and bequests of books, by which its collections have been so greatly enriched. As evidence of this, it needs only to be stated, that since the inauguration of the library, upwards of forty thousand volumes have been added to its shelves from this source alone.

THE CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF EDWARD OF CARNARVON.[1]

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DURING the last few years a good deal of energy has been put into the study of the reign of Edward II, and a considerable amount of new light has been thrown on the character of that period. As a result there has been some modest sort of rehabilitation, not indeed of the king, but of the times in which he lived. The easy generalisation which saw in the personality of the ruler the character of the age is not one which commends itself to the modern historian. We no longer believe all England virtuous and pious, because Oliver Cromwell was a good family man and a convinced Puritan, and that then suddenly in 1660 all England became vicious, because Charles II was not a model husband and believed that Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman. Similarly there is no need to accept the view that the age of the heroes died with the hero-king Edward I, and that, because Edward II was a scatter-brained wastrel, all the troubles of his twenty years' reign came by the following of his example. Even in mediæval history, where the personality of the ruler counted for much, a weak king might reign decently, if the men who ruled in his name were competent to carry on the administrative machine.

Accordingly it has been urged that the reign of Edward II has an importance of its own, however insignificant may be the character of that ruler. It has been shown that in these twenty years the military system was reconstituted by reason of the borrowing by the

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the chapter house of Gloucester Cathedral on 27 February to the Gloucester and Cheltenham branch of the Historical Association, and in the John Rylands Library, 10 March, 1920.

English of the lessons learnt from the Scots at Bannockburn, and by applying them with such thoroughness that the battle array of Crecy and Poitiers was already in existence when it was revealed to the Continent by the French Wars of Edward III. Again there is reason for recognising that Edward II's reign is a period of great importance in administrative history. The king's favourite, the younger Despenser, was among the few radical reformers in mediæval English history, and his openness to new ideas gave the official class the chance of reforming their administrative departments and making them more efficient and up to date. In the theory of politics too the Whig doctrine of government by a complaisant monarch, ruling only with the counsel and consent of his natural advisers, the territorial magnates of the land, found under Edward II a more complete expression that it ever attained again before the Revolution of 1399. Even in the economic sphere the Staple system of state regulated foreign trade, once ascribed to the wisdom of Edward III, is found to have grown up almost by itself in the reign of Edward II. Save for one hideous period of famine, the period was not particularly unprosperous, and, save for the desolation of the North by the Scots, was fairly peaceful, that is, according to the not too exacting standard of the middle ages.

However much we may strive to claim more importance for the period than historians have always allowed, there has been no attempt to rehabilitate the character of Edward II. That king still remains to the modern historian exactly what he was to the chroniclers of his own and the next succeeding age. He is still, as Stubbs truly said, the first king after the Norman Conquest who was not a man of business. Tall, well-built, strong and handsome, he had no serious purpose in life, no better policy than to amuse himself and to save himself worry and trouble. He is one of the best mediæval examples of the brutal and brainless athlete, established on a throne. He was not, I suspect, exceptionally vicious or depraved. He was just incompetent, idle, frivolous, and incurious. Most of his distractions, for which his nobles severely blamed him, seem to us harmless enough; but contemporary opinion saw something ignoble and unkingly in a monarch who forsook the society of the magnates, his natural associates, and lived with courtiers, favourites, officials on the make, and even men of meaner estate, grooms, watermen, actors, buffoons, ditchers and

delvers and other craftsmen. He lived hard and drank deeply. He was inconstant and untrustworthy, and could not keep a secret. He had so ungovernable a temper, and lost control of himself so easily that anyone who excited his wrath was liable to receive a sound drubbing from his royal hands. His supreme fault was that, being too idle to rule the country himself, he handed over the government to his personal friends and household servants. He not only refused to associate with the nobles; he neglected their counsels and declined to share power with them. This was his great offence to the grim lords of the time; this was the crime for which they could not forgive him.

Had the barons worked together as a single party, they could easily have reduced the weak king to helplessness. But the magnates were so distracted by local and family feuds that it required some great crisis to make them take up a common line of policy. Their co-operation was the more difficult since their natural leader, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was a man whose character was not at all unlike that of his cousin the king. More brutal, vicious, and capricious than Edward, Thomas resembled his kinsman in his laziness, his neglect of business, his wish to shuffle out of responsibility and in his habit of leaving all his affairs to be executed by the officers of his household. The consequence was that there was not only a king, who would not govern, but an opposition leader who could only oppose. In 1312, and again more completely after Bannockburn, the opposition became the government. Earl Thomas now showed himself even more incompetent than his cousin. He refused to govern; he continued as victor to hold aloof from affairs, abiding in the same sulky isolation in which he had lived when he was in opposition. Consequently the failure of Thomas was even more complete than the failure of Edward. Hence the extraordinarily purposelessness of much of the politics of the reign, hence the long-drawn-out intrigues, negotiations, and threatenings of war that take up so much of the story of the chroniclers.

The real struggle was not so much between Edward and Thomas as between the organised households through which, like all mediæval magnates, the king and the earl governed their estates and exercised their political authority. And as between the two there can be no doubt but that the followers of the king were abler, more serious, and better organised than the followers of the earl. They showed great skill in setting the rival factions of the opposition against each other,

and in the end broke up its unity so completely that the king won an easy triumph. The two chief centres of aristocratic power were the North and the West, the lands beyond the Humber, and the Severn valley and the adjacent March of Wales, where the great struggles of the reign were fought out. In the early part of 1322 Edward first conquered his western enemies in a bloodless campaign in the Severn valley, and then turning northwards crushed Earl Thomas and his northern foes. When Lancaster was beheaded under the walls of his own castle of Pontefract, the royalist triumph was consummated, and from 1322 to 1326 the courtiers, inspired by the younger Despenser, ruled England in the king's name. A sanguinary proscription of the contrariant lords now followed. The baronial leaders lost in many cases life, or liberty, and in more cases their lands. Their abject helplessness gave Edward the best chance a mediæval sovereign ever had of making himself an autocrat. But once more the man in power was too incompetent to take advantage of his opportunity. The king, after a short spell of activity, soon fell back into his old ways. Before his sluggishness, indifference, and weakness, the best laid plans of his advisers could not be carried out. Their failure was the more complete since they pursued their own self interest with far more zeal and singleness of purpose than they strove to advance the welfare of the state. The fine schemes of ministers for consolidating the royal power and reforming the government were brought to naught by the intense greediness of the younger Despenser. During four years of isolation from power, the aristocracy had time to reconstitute itself, and the ignoble quarrel of the king and his queen brought about the crisis of 1326.

Isabella and her lover Mortimer landed in Suffolk with a handful of followers. But disgust of the ruling faction drove every one to their standards, the more so as the invaders were shrewd enough to pose as the champions of the outraged contrariants and the avenger of the wrongs of the Martyr of Pontefract. When Henry of Lancaster, the brother and heir of Earl Thomas, joined Isabella and Mortimer, he gave the signal for a general desertion of the king's cause. The king soon found himself powerless to resist the united opposition of the reconstituted baronage, backed up by the sympathy of the mass of the people. Before long even the ministerial rats began to leave the sinking ship. The very courtiers, who had been the chief agents of the

Despensers and the crown, the self-seeking bishops, who had wormed their way to their sees by truckling to the caprices of the king, went over almost as a body to the side whose victory seemed now to be certain. Edward fled to the West, accompanied by the Despensers, his chancellor, Robert Baldock, and a very few faithful followers. He soon found his own realm of England too hot to hold him. Unable to maintain himself at Gloucester, Edward fled beyond the Severn to the great marcher principality which the younger Despenser was erecting out of his wife's lordship of Glamorgan. As a last effort to maintain a foothold in England, the elder Despenser made his way back over the Severn to Bristol, where he at once met his doom. It was in Bristol town that the opposition leaders proclaimed that, as Edward II had openly withdrawn himself from the realm, leaving England without ruler or governance, his son Edward, Duke of Aquitaine, was chosen by the magnates as Keeper of the Realm. It was the first notice to the king that his barons were determined to put an end to his authority.

During the next few days Edward, after an unsuccessful attempt to escape to Lundy Island, wandered aimlessly through Glamorgan. Meanwhile Henry of Lancaster was commissioned to effect his capture, and soon, not without a suspicion of treachery, was successful in his quest. On 16 November, 1326, Edward and his comrades in misfortune were betrayed at Neath ; and conveyed thence to Llantrissant. Within a few days Hugh the younger paid at Hereford the same fatal penalty that his father had paid at Bristol. Meanwhile Edward was escorted to Monmouth, where he surrendered the great seal, the symbol of sovereignty which he had hitherto retained, to his bitter enemy Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford.

We have now, at last, reached our real subject—the captivity and death of Edward II. The question at once arises whether, when we have recast so many of our judgments on the period, we may not with advantage review afresh the traditional story of the unhappy monarch's imprisonment, and in particular try once more to pierce the veil of mystery and legend which have obscured the story of his death. Now it may certainly be said that it is well worth our while to reconsider this story, to examine meticulously the evidence on which the account in our histories is based, and to try and fit in a few new but striking bits of testimony that have latterly been brought to light. To

perform this task is now my chief business, but though I may perhaps discharge a useful service in putting together the chief testimonies that bear on the story of the deposed king's last years, yet I may say at once that the result of this investigation is rather negative. It raises doubts ; it explains hesitations ; it gives some justification to those who believed that Edward did not meet a violent death in his prison. Above all, it discredits the only detailed narrative of the sufferings of the wretched king. But it does not shake our faith in the essential truth of the accepted story.

The history of the captivity of Edward II falls naturally into two stages. The first goes from his surrender on 16 November, 1326, to 4 April, 1327. During this period Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Leicester, was responsible for his custody, having been appointed to that charge with the informal approval of the barons. The details of the king's history during these months are fairly well known, and there is little suggestion of mystery about them, though there is plenty of pathos. Within a short time of the tragedy at Hereford, Edward was escorted to Henry of Lancaster's castle of Kenilworth where he remained as long as he continued under his care. During this period the formal stages of the revolution were accomplished. The barons had shown in dealing with the unpopular king a pedantic precision that well anticipates the stiff legalism of the revolution Whigs in their relations to James II in 1688. Their first position was that the king, by withdrawing himself from the realm, had compelled them to appoint a regent, and their choice of his eldest son as Keeper of the Kingdom showed their adhesion to the right line of descent. It is true that Edward of Carnarvon only withdrew himself for a few miles beyond the region where the king's writ ran, and that the lordship of Glamorgan was not foreign to any very impressive extent. But with Edward's forcible return to England this excuse might well seem to have been no longer plausible. This mattered the less since after the barons got possession of Edward's great seal, they could formally act in his name even when he was in their prison. Indeed it seemed to them the line of least resistance to pretend that Edward was still governing. This is best seen in the change in the form of the writs, issued so far back as October, for the assembling of a parliament. The original writs, tested by the young Edward, had stated that, in the king's absence from the realm, the business in parliament would be

dealt with by the queen and the duke, the Keeper of the Realm. But now that the great seal was in the possession of the victors, writs in the usual form were issued to supply the informality of the earlier ones. When parliament at last met on 7 January, at Westminster, it was resolved that Edward should be deposed for incompetence, and his son put in his place. But twice were deputations sent to Kenilworth to induce the king to meet parliament. The motive for this apparently was to extract from him a public resignation. The magnates shrank from the drastic course of deposition, which a few years earlier the nobles of Germany had adopted in the case of their incapable king, Adolf of Nassau. It would seem less revolutionary, and less disturbing to precedent, if Edward could be induced formally to divest himself of the office, which in any case he was no longer to be allowed to hold. But the captive of Kenilworth stubbornly refused to face parliament. As Edward would not meet parliament, parliament resolved that its representatives should meet Edward. A deputation of parliament visited Kenilworth, and Edward was offered the alternative of resignation or deposition. He showed little fight, and promptly accepted the inevitable. Clad in black, dazed with confusion, he was led before the deputies and announced with many tears that he would yield to the wishes of parliament and not stand in the way of his son's advancement. Then the proctor of the parliament renounced formally the fealty and homage which the individual members had made to the king. Finally the steward of the household broke his wand of office to indicate that the royal household was discharged. These things happened on 20 January. On their being related in London, the last stage of the revolution was consummated and Edward, Duke of Aquitaine, was definitely proclaimed as King Edward III. His regnal year was treated as beginning on 25 January.

Now that the pedantic pomps of his resignation were over, the chroniclers tell us little of the doings of Edward of Carnarvon at Kenilworth. In general terms we are informed that his treatment at the hands of his gaoler was good, and that he lacked nothing that a recluse or monk needed for his sustenance. This is likely enough, for Henry of Lancaster was a kindly gentleman, and, though he took a leading part in bringing about the king's deposition and was profoundly conscious of his brother's wrongs and of his own, he was not the man to treat with unnecessary harshness a captive entrusted to his

custody. But Henry soon began to have new grievances of his own. The leaders of the revolution had ostentatiously made the wrongs of Lancaster a pretext for their action. They had besought the pope to canonise the incompetent and disreputable Earl Thomas, and they had, as we have seen, given his more respectable brother the custody of the captive king. They had also—rather tardily—restored him to his brother's earldoms, so that we may henceforth call him Earl of Lancaster as well as Earl of Leicester. They had given him the first place in the standing council of regency which was to act in the name of the infant Edward III. Nevertheless Henry soon found that he had the show of power rather than its reality. Mortimer and the queen, not the Earl of Lancaster, really controlled the government. No sooner had the victorious coalition succeeded in establishing itself, than it began to show signs of breaking up. The moral of Edward II's reign is once more affirmed under his supplanter. It was easy for any strong combination of parties to seize the government of England. It was extremely difficult to retain for any long period the authority thus easily acquired.

Under these circumstances a natural reaction against the new government set in. It was equally natural that it should take the form of a wave of sympathy in favour of the deposed king. Soon partisans of Edward of Carnarvon were traversing the country, dilating upon his misfortunes and his sufferings. English public opinion veered in those days between extremes of brutality and extremes of sentimentality. It was normally callous enough, but from time to time it reacted in a contrary direction. It then became prone to show sympathy for fallen greatness, to pity misfortune, and to assume that the victim of fate was the champion of a good cause, the friend of the people. Thus the wretched Thomas of Lancaster was being acclaimed as a saint, not so much by partisans who wished to make profit by his deification as by simple-minded folk who easily persuaded themselves that a magnate, condemned to so cruel a fate, must surely have laid down his life for the English people or for the Church of God. A similar wave of emotion now arose on behalf of Edward of Carnarvon. Plots were formed for his release, and his custody became a real burden to Henry of Lancaster. The burden was the more serious since a projected campaign against Scotland required the presence of Earl Henry and most of the magnates to the North.

Under these circumstances the custody of Edward of Carnarvon was changed. A canon of Leicester, Henry Knighton, who wrote in a Lancastrian foundation in the Lancastrian interest, tells us that Earl Henry refused any longer to accept responsibility for the deposed king, because, as rumour declared, while the earl was employed elsewhere, some ancient partisans of his captive were weaving plots to abduct him from Kenilworth.[1] On the other side, it is possible that the government, feeling less confidence in Earl Henry, or wishful to have the old king under stricter, perhaps under less scrupulous, direction were not unwilling to dispense with his services. However that may be, the change was made, and on 3 April the care of Edward of Carnarvon was transferred to Thomas of Berkeley and John Maltravers. With this begins the second stage of Edward II's captivity, the stage of mystery and darkness, culminating in more than the suspicion of a tragic end. With this and its after results will be our chief concern on this occasion.

It now becomes necessary, before we proceed with our story, to scrutinise the authorities on which it is based. As everybody knows, the chief sources for mediæval history are chronicles and records. The former, narrative histories in essence, vary immensely in their authenticity, and a good deal, but not everything, depends upon whether or not they are contemporary or nearly contemporary to the events which they describe. The merit of the chronicler is that he gives us a consecutive story, that he often suggests character, motives, reasons, a point of view, and generally gives us contemporary colour. His demerit is that he writes loosely, frequently draws his information from sources of doubtful authority, is often ignorant and prejudiced, and sometimes deliberately aims at falsifying the facts. The merit of the record is that it is impersonal, official, contemporary, and based on knowledge. It is set down, too, in the records of an administrative or judicial court, and is preserved not to help historians or satisfy general curiosity, but to be of practical use to officials, judges, administrators, and other persons employed in the government of the country. But the record has its limitations as much almost as the chronicle, though they are different in kind. It is valuable as evidence of external facts, exact dates, names, costs, movements, and it shows us the

[1] Knighton, i. 444, R.S.

structure, personnel, and functions of the administrative machine. But it seldom throws light on the inner meaning of things; it is colourless, arid, jejune; it is largely taken up with common form, and though generally, bar human carelessness, based upon sound information, is liable to be falsified when the need arises. Under normal circumstances we can balance the chronicle and the record with each other, while correcting from the precision of the record, the mere gossip of the chronicler. In the light of the chronicle we can illuminate the dry facts of the record, combine them in some intelligible order, and give them colour and their proper setting.

Up to the transfer of Edward of Carnarvon from the custody of Henry of Lancaster to that of Berkeley and Maltravers, our information, though not very copious, is sufficient for our purpose, and there is no need to say from what source we learn this or that fact, since the whole story works together in substantial harmony. Perhaps the only doubt that has passed my mind in telling you the story in outline is as to certain picturesque details relating to the resignation of Edward, which would have been more picturesque had I the courage to tell you them in detail. These particulars came from the Chronicle of Geoffrey the Baker, a worthy as to whom I shall have later a good deal to say. At this stage I need only remark that, though much of Baker is suspicious, he quotes what seems good authority for this episode. It is the written evidence of an Oxfordshire knight, Sir Thomas de la Moor, who was himself present as a member of the household of Bishop Stratford of Winchester who took a leading part in the ceremony. This is worth remembering since the misunderstanding of Baker's reference to Moor's testimony has been misunderstood, last and not least by so great a scholar as Bishop Stubbs, as meaning that the whole of Baker's Chronicle was based on a French chronicle written by Moor. It is now agreed that this inference is illegitimate.

After April, 1327, our evidence becomes much scantier. We can barely trace the transference of the king's custody, the sum allowed for his maintenance, and a few insignificant details from the public records. There is more illustration of the condition of the country and of public opinion, as to which I shall have occasion to speak again. Moreover, the public records are partially supplemented from the private archives of the house of Berkeley, still largely, I believe, extant, but

mainly accessible through the seventeenth century tractate in which John Smith of Nibley, steward of the Berkeleys of that epoch, wrote his lives of the Berkeleys, which the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society has happily given to the world.[1] From these we learn various significant facts. But it is only after the king's death that the records give us abundant information as to his funeral, his lying-in-state, and ultimately the erection of his tomb. Again after 1330 there is some evidence preserved in the Rolls of Parliament as to the trials of his alleged murderers. The after careers of these suspects we can follow in abundant detail and with some profit from record sources. Even more scanty is the information of the chroniclers. If, as is unlikely, they knew the truth, they assuredly dared not tell it. Though several writers agree that the former king was murdered and even as to the method of his murder, their short accounts were written many years afterwards. The only circumstantial narrative, that of Baker, was written thirty years afterwards and is on the face of it highly suspicious.

The result of the conspiracy of silence was, as usual, a lack of faith in such scanty doles of information as were given out to the public. There was a general disbelief that Edward was really dead, and romantic stories arose in many quarters that he escaped and lived many years afterwards in obscurity. These stories, however fantastic, are natural under the circumstances. They are too corroborated by certain curious pieces of evidence. It is not unlikely that a more meticulous examination of the record sources may give some little further light on the problem. Some remarkable additions to the legend were made some forty years ago. Some very material new facts have been divulged within the last few years. But it is only after 1330 that we have copious references, not to the murder but to the fate of the alleged murderers. The fortunes of all these can be traced in detail, and what emerges from their history suggests some additional considerations as regards the problem of Edward II's end.

We start with the known fact that the custody of the deposed

[1] Smith or Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, 3 vols. Some conception of the wealth of the still surviving Berkeley Castle manuscripts can be obtained from Isaac H. Jeayes' *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the possession of Lord Fitzhardinge at Berkeley Castle.* Bristol, 1892.

king was vested in Berkeley and Maltravers from 3 April, and we know within a few days that an allowance of £5 a day was assigned to the two keepers "for the expenses of the household of the Lord Edward, sometime King of England, our father".[1] This was a liberal sum, larger, if we may trust a chronicler, than the sum allowed to Henry of Lancaster for keeping Edward at Kenilworth,[2] and approaching half the amount of Edward's domestic establishment in his youth before he had been made Prince of Wales. It would have given an ample margin both for maintaining the deposed king with a reasonable degree of state and for the adequate safeguarding of his person. If the captive were not generously entertained, it must have been because his keepers did not wish to treat him well, and perhaps because they regarded the allowance as a bribe to commit evil deeds.

It has often been suggested that Edward was deliberately handed over from kindly to unscrupulous keepers. Yet there is not much to encourage this idea, save inference from later facts. Perhaps the previous career of Thomas of Berkeley and John Maltravers suggests a little more malevolent hostility to their prisoner than Henry of Lancaster felt. But all three keepers were avowed enemies of the captive who in his days of power had inflicted grievous suffering upon them. Berkeley and Maltravers were members of that Lancastrian party of which Earl Henry had been the head. Henry's prudence had saved him from the dire fate of many of the contrariants, and he had condoned his brother's murder by accepting his personal liberty and a mere fragment of his inheritance from Edward II. But the other two had incurred forfeiture. Berkeley had shared the captivity of his father Maurice, and when the latter died in 1326 in confinement, he was still under duress. A Gloucestershire magnate of high position, he had forfeited the ancestral castle of Berkeley, over which Hugh Despenser now ruled. Indeed, the Berkeley lands, included, not only Berkeley, but Redcliffe and Bedminster with a commanding authority

[1] *Fœdera*, ii. 705, dated 24 April, Stamford. The issues of Glamorgan, still in the king's hands, were chargeable with the payment which was to be accounted for at the exchequer. Other moneys came from the treasure found at Caerphilly, when the son of the younger Despenser surrendered tardily that stronghold. Ultimately the exchequer took up the burden. The Berkeley household accounts show bountiful provision of wine, wax, capons, kids, eggs, cheese, cows, "ad hospicium patris regis": Jeayes, pp. 274-277.

[2] Baker, p. 28, gives 100 marks a month as the sum.

over the great mercantile borough of Bristol, which looked on the house of Berkeley as its chief enemy. The absorption of the estate in the Despenser lands would have given Hugh a position in Gloucestershire transcending that of the earls of Gloucester of the house of Clare. The arrival of Isabella in London had released him from his prison. He had followed the queen to Gloucester and thence to Bristol, and was rewarded by his restoration to Berkeley and his great estates in Southern Gloucestershire. But a stronger claim on the victors than his sufferings was the fact that he had married a daughter of Roger Mortimer. John Maltravers, the other keeper, was the son of a Dorsetshire baron who was still alive. He married Thomas of Berkeley's sister and was closely associated with his policy. Luckily for himself he had escaped in the rout of Boroughbridge and had managed to reach the Continent. He only returned in the train of Isabella and Mortimer. On the whole, then, the new keepers were likely to be a little more hostile than Earl Henry to their prisoner. It was in fact a sheer loss to Edward to be removed from the care of the most independent of the magnates to the custody of the son-in-law of the queen's paramour, associated with another dependent of Mortimer who was his own brother-in-law.

Already there had been, as we have said, rumours of plots for releasing Edward and procuring his return. It is possible that such schemes were already being hatched when the ex-king remained at Kenilworth, and the probability is increased by the fact that the chief agents of the plot, the brothers Dunhead, or Dunheved, had property and interests on Dunsmore, Warwickshire, between Kenilworth and Rugby. Of these brothers Stephen Dunhead had been lord of the manor of Dunchurch, near Rugby, but, forced to abjure the realm for felony in 1321, he strove to evade forfeiting it by demising it to a neighbouring baron.[1] His brother Thomas was a Dominican friar and an eloquent preacher, who, if chroniclers' gossip can be believed, had sought to get a divorce between Edward and Isabella from the papal curia.[2] On his return from this vain quest, Friar Thomas found his former master deposed and in prison, and at once strove to procure his release. As dates are almost lacking, we cannot exactly place the beginnings of this conspiracy, but it must have been when Edward was still at Kenil-

[1] *C. Fine R.*, iii. 185.

[2] *Ann. Paulini*, p. 337, "ut vulgariter dicebatur".

worth, and it soon spread its ramifications far and wide. Mediæval society was always excessively disorderly, but a special epidemic of violent crime ushered in the spring of 1327, and was doubtless the result of the recent revolution and the weak and partisan spirit of the administration which the revolution had established in power. To remedy this the chancery issued an enormous number of special commissions to hear and determine various deeds of violence, and strengthened the law for the purpose. Among the riotous acts thus dealt with was a violent assault on a country parson near Cirencester, to punish which a special commission was appointed. Among the suspected persons Stephen Dunhead is the first to be mentioned.[1] But he certainly was not caught then, for in May we find another order for his arrest and imprisonment in Wallingford Castle.[2] This also miscarried, for early in June he and his brother were in Cheshire, where they were at the head of a gang of "malefactors" who had "assembled within the city of Chester and parts adjacent" and were perpetrating "homicides and other crimes".[3] But though the justice of Chester was besought to lay hands upon these criminals, they managed to escape his grip. A little later they were hiding again on Dunsmore, but they were certainly not captured there, as a chronicler thought. By this time they turned their operations southward, for they must have known that Edward had been transferred from Kenilworth to Berkeley, and their chief objective was ever his release from his captivity. But they were shrewd enough to make their own any grievance that appealed to the local rioter, and a fresh cause of complaint now arose in an unpopular expedition against the Scots and the compulsory levying of soldiers for the Scots' war, even in those midland and southern counties whose levies were seldom called upon to serve so far away from their homes.

Under such circumstances there is small blame to the government for having taken measures to put the captive king under custodians in whom the ministers could rely, and who would under no circumstances be exposed to the temptation of taking up his cause as a good weapon for breaking down the power of Mortimer and the queen. For such a purpose Mortimer's son-in-law and that son-in-law's brother were safer gaolers than Henry of Lancaster, with his scruples, his pretensions,

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 153. Mandate to justice of Chester of 8 June.

and his growing discontent against a government that had used him as a catspaw. It was equally natural that, as soon as the keepership of the late king was transferred from Lancaster to Berkeley and Maltravers, he should be put in some 'place better under government control than the Lancastrian castle of Kenilworth. That Lancaster himself did not want the worry and expense of his cousin's keeping made his transference all the easier. Accordingly, as soon as the new custody began, Edward was privately removed from Kenilworth and surrounded by a strong escort, covered a journey of over fifty miles in two days, quite good travelling for the fourteenth century. On the night of 5 April, which was also Palm Sunday, the ex-king reached Gloucester. He spent the night at Llantony Abbey, hard by the town, as the guest of the Austin canons of that house.[1] Next day he completed the easy journey to Berkeley. It is probable that efforts were made to keep his destination secret; it is most unlikely that this hasty flight of an armed force could have escaped the notice of a country-side, swarming with Edwardian partisans and sympathisers. Anyhow the plots redoubled in violence, and within two months of the transfer, the conspirators devoted their main energies to Berkeley and its neighbourhood. Let us see the sequel.

In the mass of seething discontent, no district was more disturbed than the lower valley of the Severn. The proximity of the March of Wales, always in extreme disorder; the local revolution worked by the fall of Despenser, in fact if not in name earl of Gloucester, and the further changes consequential on the restoration of the Berkeleys to their old position, were all potent factors of confusion. It was natural under such circumstances that the government should look to the lord of Berkeley and Redcliffe for help. Accordingly even before his formal pardon, still more before his appointment as the deposed king's keeper, Thomas of Berkeley had already been called upon to give his powerful aid in maintaining order in Gloucestershire and the adjacent districts. Thus on 8 March he was one of the two commissioners of the peace for Gloucestershire appointed in accordance with the recent Act for the greater preservation of the peace.[2] Other and greater responsibilities followed, and the presence of the king at Berkeley did not prevent its lord's full employment as the local agent of

[1] *Ann. Paulini*, p. 333.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 89: The Act was 1 Edward III, sec. 2, cap. 16.

the authorities. The Scottish expedition and the local resistance to it gave a good excuse for heaping new powers on Berkeley, with whom Maltravers is now almost always associated. Thus the local magistrates were called on 30 April to aid the brothers-in-law "whom the king is sending to his castle of Bristol for arms and armour to be used in the northern parts".[1] On 3 July Berkeley was remitted his service against the Scots because he was "charged with special business of the king".[2] Finally, the two were on 11 July put on a commission of the peace pursuant to the Statute of Winchester, in the seven neighbouring counties of Dorset, Somerset, Hereford, Wilts, Hants, Oxon, and Berks.[3] Thus they received executive authority all over the middle south-west. Moreover, as this work, and their own affairs,[4] kept them, we imagine, away from Berkeley, an experienced king's clerk, John Walwayn, doctor of law, himself a West Country man, who had held the great post of treasurer and the important office of escheator, but who apparently was thought inadequate for the highest positions, was sent down to Berkeley to look after things there.

It was high time, for by July a curious conspiracy had been formed in which men of different regions and strangely varied professions and walks of life banded themselves together, ostensibly to resist service against the Scots, really, as we shall see, for a much more dangerous object. There were Gloucestershire men and Worcestershire men; there were men from Warwickshire and men from Staffordshire; there were high and low, laymen and clerks, and among the latter, parish priests, preaching friars, Benedictine monks and Austin canons. There was a canon of Llantony, who perhaps had been smitten with compassion for the deposed monarch who had passed Palm Sunday night within his house. There was a monk of the great foundation of Hales; above all there were the brothers Stephen and Thomas Dunhead, still free to conspire and lead rebellions, despite a whole row of orders for their arrest.[5] It was a formidable crowd, and

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 130. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 130, shows Maltravers pardoned for acquiring an estate in Wiltshire without license and authorised to hold the same.

[5] The presence of the Dunheads here shows the inaccuracy of *Ann. Paulini*, p. 337, which states that Thomas had been captured "about 11 June," "apud Bidebrok prope Dunmor" (that is, of course, in Warwickshire), imprisoned at Pontefract, and, failing to escape, thrown down a well and perished. But I think the *Annals* chief error is in dating this too early.

there was no strong force available in these days to deal with a sudden rebellion.

Chance has lately shown us that this conspiracy of the Dunheads attained, at least for a moment, the object of all its efforts. That an attempt was made has long been known by a mandate on the Patent Rolls ordering Berkeley, as a chief keeper of the peace in Gloucestershire, to arrest the Dunheads and their followers "indicted before him for coming with an armed force to Berkeley castle to plunder it and for refusing to join the king in his expedition against the Scots".[1] But a few years ago, a French scholar, Dr. Tanquerey of St. Andrews, unearthed in the Public Record Office and published in the *English Historical Review*[2] a letter of John Walwayn, written on 27 July from Berkeley Castle to the chancellor, which tells us much more than this. It tells thus that a long list of people, almost, but not quite, the same as those indicted before Berkeley, has been indicted before Walwayn; that Walwayn is doubtful whether he has authority under his commission, and prays the chancellor to ordain an immediate remedy. But it also lets the cat out of the bag. A confidential letter to the chancellor had no reason to deal so discreetly with the truth as the letter patent, open to all the world to read, which the chancery issued, as we have seen, soon after the receipt of this secret despatch. Accordingly Walwayn does not scruple to say plainly that "the culprits indicted before him were charged with having come violently to the castle of Berkeley, with having ravished the father of our lord the king out of our guard, and with having feloniously robbed the said castle against the king's peace." Here is a bit of new information of a startling kind. Within three months of his establishment in Berkeley, a conspiracy to release the old king attained at least a temporary success. The confederates seized the castle and plundered it; they rescued Edward of Carnarvon from his dungeon.

No wonder under these circumstances that the policy of silence and concealment, already adopted as regards the imprisoned king, should be carried out with tenfold rigour than before; that the public records should contain no reference to this tremendous fact; that the chroniclers should in very fear show a compulsory discretion, and that

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, pp. 156-7. This is dated 1 August, at Stanhope, Durham.

[2] *English Historical Review*, xxxi. 119-24 (1916).

the subsequent career of the unlucky captive should be severely cut short, but after so secret a fashion that a doubt should remain, strong at the time, weaker as years rolled on, as to what fate befell the hapless Edward. Some of these points I must recur to later on: but at present I may record as my conviction, though I do not claim it as more than a judgment based on probabilities, that Edward was very soon recaptured and restored to his prison, and that to save further risk he was quietly done to death some three months later.

Before we approach the final problem, it may be suggested that this proved escape of Edward from Berkeley gives us a clue towards interpreting the two chroniclers who profess to know most about the last adventures of the deposed king. The first of these, Adam Murimuth, a canon of St. Paul's, wrote his history in its final form soon after the time of the battle of Crecy, some eighteen years after these events. But we have internal evidence that he wrote the passages describing Edward II's fate before 1345, because he tells us that Maltravers was still abroad and we shall learn that he was allowed to return to England in that year.[1] After telling us that Edward had been taken to Berkeley in secret "about Palm Sunday" he goes on as follows:—

"And because they were afraid of certain persons coming to him to effect his release, Edward was secretly removed from Berkeley by night, and taken to Corfe and other secret places, but at last they took him back to Berkeley, but after such a fashion that it could hardly be ascertained where he was."[2]

Murimuth was an intelligent man, accustomed to affairs, associated with the great, and wise enough to be circumspect, though desirous of telling the truth. This passage, interpreted in the light of our knowledge of Edward's escape, suggests that his "secret removal" from Berkeley was the result of the conspirators' temporary success, and that his subsequent wanderings both preceded and succeeded his recapture, and resulted in his being in the end brought back to his ancient place of confinement. I do not for a moment suggest that Murimuth was aware of the carefully guarded secret of Edward's escape: but he did know what all men knew of the notorious attempts to effect his release, and he intelligently connected these with

[1] Murimuth, pp. 52-54, R.S. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

the removal of the old king to Corfe, and other hiding places, and with his subsequent return to Berkeley.

We are now in a position to appreciate the only detailed account of Edward's captivity, that written after 1356 by Geoffrey Baker. Much of it is mere rhetoric, word-painting, and abuse, for Baker was far from being above the crime of "making copy," so hated by the discreet editor and yet so universally practised. When Baker gets to facts, and we can compare him with our other sources of knowledge, we can prove him to be wrong. Thus, beginning with the events of April, he tells us that Edward was put under the custody of Thomas Gurney and John Maltravers, ignoring the fact that the chief keeper was so respectable a nobleman as Thomas Berkeley. He tells a long and demonstrably false story how the king when he was led from Kenilworth was taken first to Corfe, then to Bristol, whence when discovered by the burgesses he was taken by dead of night to Berkeley. He tells us the indignities suffered by him on the way; how his cruel tormentors crowned him with a crown of hay, clothed him with insufficient garments, forced him to ride through th night with uncovered head, fed him on food so nauseous that it made him sick; how they shaved his beard and hair that he might less readily be recognised, and how the suffering Edward warmed with his tears cold water that the barber was compelled to use, how, in short, he endured things that clearly proved that God had marked him out for the crown of martyrdom. These stories he relates as told him over twenty years later by one William Bishop, leader of the captive's guard, a personage whom authentic history certainly cannot distinguish from his various namesakes of this period.

I suggest that Murimuth's story gives the modest nucleus of truth that was elaborated with Baker's picturesque romance. What we now know of the temporary release of Edward further illuminates this point of view. We may feel sure that the crowd under the Dunheads did not keep together long after their opening success.[1] But the duty of its dispersion must have fallen upon Berkeley, as the head of the local administration established for the emergency in the Western shires. It was Berkeley who was to indict the offenders, to press the

[1] Stephen Dunhead was arrested in London before 1 July, 1327, but escaped, and was still wandering at large in 1329. *C.C.R.*, 1327-30, pp. 146 and 549.

hue and cry after them, and imprison their leaders. In this process he was careful to charge the plotters, not with their real offence of abducting the deposed king but with the more commonplace crimes of an attempt to plunder Berkeley and of refusing to undertake military service against the Scots. But the conspiracy of silence obscured the truth for contemporaries even more than for us. One result of Berkeley's activity was doubtless the recapture of Edward, and we may well believe that, as part of the stage management of the mystery, he was hurried to various hiding-places, including perhaps Corfe. But he was certainly brought back to Berkeley. And as one result of Berkeley's administrative duties he was compelled, we may guess, to delegate to others personal custody of Edward. One result of this process was the that the sinister presence of Sir Thomas Gurney now comes upon the scene. This Somersetshire knight, becomes, as Berkeley's deputy, the colleague of Maltravers.

We now come to the final stage of Edward's troubles. Of this Baker and Baker only gives a circumstantial account. He tells us that the queen, not unreasonably, we may add, from the point of view of her own safety, thought that the time was now come when her husband must die, and that Adam Orleton, bishop of Hereford, her special confidant, who played the part of the chief villain of the piece, wrote a sealed letter to that effect to his keepers, couched in ambiguous terms that could be interpreted differently according to its punctuation. The hint of murder was conveyed if it read "It is a good thing not to be afraid to kill Edward," but the alternative meaning "It is a good thing to be afraid to kill Edward," might well be brought forward if the message fell into wrong hands.

This is clearly a bit of fiction. It is improbable on the face of it. Even wicked bishops hesitate to send written orders to kill deposed kings, and to plead the accident of a wrong interpretation if their note miscarries. Moreover, at this period Orleton was far from being, as Baker suggests, constantly at the side of the guilty queen. In fact, he had left England for the papal court at Avignon so early as March, when Edward was still at Kenilworth, and did not return from Avignon until after it had been given out at Berkeley that the late king was dead. Moreover, before news of that event could have reached the Pope, John XXII had appointed Orleton by papal provision bishop of Worcester, and this acceptance of promotion involved him

in a fierce conflict with the English crown which had approved of the election by the monastic chapter of Worcester of their prior, Wolfstan of Bransford. In the event the pope prevailed over king and chapter and Orleton became bishop of Worcester, and therefore the diocesan of both Berkeley and Gloucester. It is a fair illustration of the wildness of Baker's guesses that he should make Orleton responsible for an act, which he could not have inspired, at a moment when he was quarrelling with queen and council because they resisted an attempt to make him bishop of the diocese where the crime was perpetrated. No doubt Orleton was a self-seeking ruffian, and there is no reason to accept the suggestion of the recent editor of his Hereford register that because he kept his official records like a good man of business, he was probably a good man. But whatever crimes we may lay to his charge, he did not write a letter urging ambiguously the murder of his ancient monarch. In later years his fiercest enemies never brought that accusation against him. His *alibi* was too clearly proved.

But if Orleton claims a right to be acquitted, circumstances have recently come to light which seem to throw the responsibility for ending Edward of Carnarvon's mortal career on Mortimer himself. The revolution of 1326 had established Mortimer in the position of justice of Wales, held so long by his uncle Roger Mortimer of Chirk. His preoccupations in England gave him little time for exercising in person his duties as justice of Wales, and he ruled North Wales through his lieutenant, William of Shalford. But the Welsh, who had loved Edward of Carnarvon, regretted his fate the more since his fall had restored the rule of a Mortimer over them, and to the Welsh the government of the greatest of the marcher lords was the worst form of tyranny. In 1321-2 a rising in North Wales had made it easier for Edward as king to overthrow the Mortimer power and re-establish his position. What had happened once might well occur again, and it looks as if some of the very Welsh magnates who had followed Sir Gruffydd Llwyd in his earlier attack on the Mortimers were now once more plotting a similar movement. By August, 1327, when the English conspiracies to release Edward had mainly died out, a Welsh conspiracy to effect the same end seems to have been organised. The leader of this movement was a South Welsh knight, Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, who acted apparently at the instigation of certain English magnates, and with the active support of the leading men of

both North and South Wales.[1] We know nothing for certain of the success which attended his efforts. It was, however, enough to excite the alarm of William of Shalford, Mortimer's lieutenant. Accordingly on 7 September, 1327, Shalford wrote to his chief telling him that Sir Rhys and his comrades had formed their plot and that there was real danger, that Edward might be released from Berkeley, and that the only thing for Roger was to ordain a "suitable remedy" to prevent himself and his party from being utterly undone. Shalford's letter reached Mortimer at Abergavenny, and it was believed in North Wales that it induced him to make the fatal decision that the only way of saving his power and his life, was to put Edward forthwith to death. Consequently, Mortimer sent a dependent of his, William Ogle, or Ockley, from Abergavenny to Berkeley, taking with him Shalford's letter, and hinting not obscurely to Maltravers and Gurney what was the obvious remedy to ease the situation.

With the arrival of Ogle the last phase of Edward of Carnarvon's misfortunes began. He was now allowed but a short shrift, for within a fortnight of the date of the fatal letter, written by Shalford, it was officially announced that the "king's father" had died on 21 September. Gurney and Maltravers had doubtless already made up their mind how to act. The arrival of Ogle on the scene brought things to a crisis.

The judicial proceedings taken three years later, feeble and futile though they were, make it clear that these three men, Gurney, Maltravers, and Ogle were looked upon as the direct agents of Edward of Carnarvon's death. Let us put together what little we learn from other sources as to the facts of the case. Firstly, let us interrogate the chroniclers.

We find that most of the chroniclers, though often a day or so wrong, substantially confirm the official statement as to the fact that Edward died on or about 21 September. They are, however, cautious about expressing themselves about the manner of his death and very reticent about details. The most nearly contemporary, the *Annals of St. Paul's*, simply say that the king died at Berkeley.[2] The north-country Chronicle of Lanercost suggests without confirming a suspi-

[1] For the authorities on which this paragraph is based, see Appendix.

[2] *Ann. Paulini*, p, 337.

cion.[1] Another northern writer prudently remarks: "With regard to the king's decease various opinions were commonly expressed. I prefer for myself to say no more about the matter, for sometimes, as the poet says, lies are for the advantage of many and to tell the whole truth does harm.[2] Murimuth, writing a little later with the *Annals of St. Paul's* before him, carries us somewhat further. After mentioning that the king "died" he adds, "And though many persons, abbots, priors, knights, burgesses of Bristol and Gloucester, were summoned to view his body, and indeed superficially examined it, nevertheless it was commonly said that he was slain as a precaution by the orders of Sir John Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gurney".[3] The exact manner of the king's death comes later. We find it in Higden's *Polychronicon*,[4] where testimony is of some importance since it was done into English by John Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, at a time when Thomas of Berkeley was still alive, and the translator would not have lightly adopted such a suggestion against his patron's honour. Moreover, the Lancastrian Chronicle of Knighton repeats the charge,[5] and a Westminster monk not only reiterates it, but says that it was known not only to rumour but by the confession of the guilty parties.[6]

The amplification of the horrid story, briefly suggested some twenty years or less after the event, is found in Baker, and in Baker only. He tells us how up to the time of the receipt of Orleton's ambiguous letter, Thomas of Berkeley had treated the fallen king with kindness. But Baker's suggestion that Berkeley was only "lord of the castle" and not also the gaoler responsible for the king's keeping indicates an economy in dealing with truth that might give offence to a powerful nobleman in the next county. This story of Edward's kind treatment by Berkeley is otherwise confirmed. But now, says Baker, Berkeley was denied all relations with his victim. Thereupon, irritated that he was no longer master in his own house, Berkeley bade a sorrowful farewell to Edward and betook himself elsewhere. Unfortunately the Berkeley household accounts show that Thomas went no farther than

[1] *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 260.

[2] *Gesta Edwardi tertii auctore Bridlingtonensi*, pp. 97-98.

[3] Murimuth, pp. 54-55.

[4] *Polychronicon*, viii., 324: "Cum veru ignito inter celanda confossus. See also *Cont. Hemingburgh*, ii., 297-8.

[5] Knighton, i. 446.

[6] *Chron. J. de Reading*, ed. Tait, p. 78.

Bradley, his manor near Wotton-under-Edge, some six or seven miles away. I have already suggested that the local disturbances must have taken Thomas further afield; but this particular absence at Bradley only took place on Michaelmas Eve, eight days after Edward's reputed death. No great confirmation of Baker's testimony can be extracted from this.

Let us return to Baker. No sooner was Thomas removed from his own castle than the slow murder of the helpless king began. He was confined in a room made pestilential by the stench of decaying bodies. But as his immense strength saved him from death, he was brutally murdered by night, as he lay in his bed, in a fashion that concealed exterior traces of wounds. Already his piteous complaints had informed carpenters, working outside the castle, of his tortures in the prison chamber; now hideous shrieks told town and castle of his violent doom and drove many to their knees to pray for his soul.

Dismissing for the moment the crucial difficulty of the king's end, let us tell from authentic records the history of his remains. From 21 September to 21 October, the body of the king remained at Berkeley, under Berkeley and Maltravers' custody, for which service they continued in receipt of their £5 per diem, "for the custody of the body". During this time, if we may believe the historian of Gloucester Abbey, the royal corpse was offered to various local monasteries, but the Austin canons of St. Augustines at Bristol, the modern cathedral, the Cistercians of St. Mary's at Kingswood, and the Benedictines of St. Aldhelm's at Malmesbury refused this dangerous honour "through fear of Mortimer and Queen Isabella". It is suggested that it was something of an act of heroism that John Thoky, Abbot of Gloucester, consented to receive the body. Thoky, in his own chariot, "nobly adorned with the arms of Gloucester Abbey," conducted it to his convent, where it was "honourably received by the whole community and with all the city in procession". This history, generally attributed to Abbot Frocester,[1] was finally put together in the early fifteenth century, and contemporary records show that nearly every particular statement in it is inexact. There was certainly no "fear of the queen and Mortimer" to deter the neighbouring abbey from accepting the charge of the king's body, for the government took up responsibility from the

[1] It is printed in vol. i. of Hart's *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, 3 vols., R.S. 1863-7.

first, and warned by Sir Thomas Gurney of Edward's death,[1] at once published the news to the parliament which was then assembled at Lincoln. Indeed, the whole administration was then in the North, intent on the parliament sitting at Lincoln at the moment of the king's death and afterwards on the campaign and the negotiations with the Scots. The delay in dealing with the king's body is satisfactorily explained by the remoteness of the court from the Severn valley. As soon as it was possible to act, special arrangements were made for the care of the remains of the king's father. From this point the royal ministers, not Berkeley or the Gloucester monks, assumed the chief responsibility. When the body was removed to Berkeley, it was placed in the hands of officers appointed for the purpose. It is clear from the accounts of these officers that Gloucester represents the government's deliberate choice, and that the expenses of the removal of the body thither were at the charge of the state and not of the abbot. If Thoky sent his "chariot" for the body, the odds are that he got paid for the service he rendered. Anyhow Berkeley charged the crown for many of the expenses of the removal. He put down to the crown account the cost of dyeing black the canvass that covered the hearse, of the cords and the traces of the horses, the expenses of taking the body to Gloucester, and those of his household which accompanied it, of the vase of silver in which Edward's heart was enclosed, and of the oblations in the masses in the castle chapel for the soul of the dead king.[2] Then Berkeley and Maltravers gave up their charge when the body had reached Gloucester. And of the money that was owed them for the 201 days of their custody the exchequer was still over £300 in arrears when the account was made up.[3]

The whole business was from this point regulated by ordinances of king and council, and a new set of accounts shows in detail the elaborate arrangements made for the custody of the body as long as it remained above ground. The see of Worcester being vacant or dis-

[1] He was sent to the king when Edward III was at Nottingham, and allowed 31s. 1d. expenses: Smith, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i. 293. The king arrived at Nottingham on 30 September. Compare Jeayes' *Catalogue*, p. 274, " . . . de Gourne eunti apud Notyngham pro morte patris regis regi et regine notificanda cum litteris domini". The "dominus" was, of course, Thomas of Berkeley.

[2] Smith, i. 293.

[3] *Archæologia*, l., 223.

puted, the neighbouring bishop of Llandaff was instructed to remain at Gloucester till the funeral, and received 13s. 4d. a day for his expenses for the fifty-nine days which he devoted to that object. This prelate, John Eaglescliff, was a Dominican friar, forced on Llandaff by the pope in 1323 in despite of king and chapter, and we may charitably assume that one element in his selection was that he belonged to an order which Edward II had always regarded with special favour and from which he had chosen his confessors. Besides the bishop, two knights, at 6s. 8d. a day, and 5s. respectively, were also ordered to be in attendance. To them two royal chaplains, two sergeants-at-arms, and the king's *candelarius* were added. A third sergeant-at-arms, already at Berkeley when the captive died, was also retained, while a royal clerk, Hugh of Glanville, was assigned to pay the expenses of the whole business. Put cynically, we may say that just as secrecy had been the game of the government up to St. Matthew's day, so now a public exhibition of almost excessive respect seems to have been thought the most desirable policy.

The funeral was delayed for two more months. The main reason was the impossibility of the king and court attending in person until the Scottish business was more or less settled. Another was the extreme dispersion of the directing and spending departments. The court and council were wandering over Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, and with them went the wardrobe, the source of household expenditure. But the exchequer, the chief source of national financial expenditure, was then stationed at York, and the great wardrobe, the department of stores, from which came most of the apparatus necessary for the funeral, was permanently established in London. It was no wonder then that there was so long a delay, and the detailed accounts of the keeper of the great wardrobe show how nobly the funeral was conducted. There was an immense display of goldleaf; there were leopards emblazoned on the harness of the horses; there was the hearse, with great golden lions, provided by the king's painter, and effigies of the evangelists standing upon it. There were angels censing with gold censers; there were knights in attendance with new robes provided at the king's expense; there was a wooden image of the dead king, worth 40s. and a copper-gilt crown upon its head worth 7s. 3d. There were great beams of oak provided to keep back the crowd that thronged to have a glimpse of

the royal corpse.[1] There were heavy charges for the painful dispatch of all these paraphernalia by road from London to Gloucester. There was a full attendance of mourners, including the not very disconsolate widow and the son, the young king who had supplanted him. Everything was done in decency and order, so that we may take for what it is worth the rash statement of chroniclers that the funeral was but a hugger-mugger affair. There was even a pretence at inquiry, for it seems that the woman employed in embalming the body was sent to attend the court to Worcester immediately after the ceremony, that she might give Isabella what light she could as to the circumstances of her husband's end. Then the court went back to the North where the king married his bride, met his parliament, and concluded the "disgraceful peace" with the Scots. There was no more allowed to be said about his father until the question was reopened three years later when the *coup d'état* of the young Edward III at Nottingham drove Mortimer from power to the scaffold, and relegated Isabella not to a dungeon, as the old histories tell us, but to a dignified, free, and luxurious retirement in which she lived to sixty-six, a good old age for those times, and died at last in 1368 in something like the odour of sanctity.

One other observation only need be made as to the period of the regency and that is that the men whom common report associated with the crime, Berkeley, Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gurney remained trusted agents of Mortimer and Isabella. Maltravers in particular was raised to a great position, for between 1328 and 1330 he acted as steward of the king's household, the lay head of the royal establishment, and therefore—we may guess—in a position to prevent any compromising documents appearing in the wardrobe accounts in which his clerical colleague, the treasurer of the wardrobe, recorded the expenses of the court. He had, however, vacated that office before the Nottingham catastrophe, though he still, I imagine, was in the confidence of the Queen Isabella.

Under these circumstances we may well believe that Edward was murdered at Berkeley. It is unlikely that this vigorous and healthy man of forty-three died a natural death. There is every probability that his unscrupulous enemies killed him "as a precaution". It was

[1] Pro claustura circum corpus regis ad resistendum oppressionem populi irruentis.

always so with dangerous captives from the dawn of history. It was pre-eminently so in the middle ages. Our own history is full of such examples, Arthur of Brittany, Edward II, Thomas and Humphrey of Gloucester, Richard II, Henry VI, the princes in the Tower—leaving out the more respectable cases of pretenders slain in hot blood after a fight. Their ends were always mysterious; the official version generally savoured of the incredible; the probabilities pointed to violence; and there was always the chance to accuse either the supplanter, who had most to gain, or his inferior agents who generally did his dirty work for him. But in no case is there certain evidence of how the deed was done or as to the person doing it. The inevitable result of such an end is the suspicion of murder, and there is little reason for us departing from the commonplace attribution of the crime to those who profited most by it. From this point of view we may agree with the chroniclers that Isabella and Mortimer had the primary responsibility for this deed. But they were shrewd enough to obscure the evidence of their complicity, and there is little evidence even against the underlings who perpetrated the actual crime.

Under such circumstances there arose an impression that, after all, the victim might have escaped. All through history there are men, generally denounced as impostors, who claimed that they had marvellously evaded the doom allotted to them and demanded restitution to their ancient dignities. Instance of this range from the false Smerdis whom we read about in Herodotus to the false Demetrius, whose challenge to the throne of the Tsars is familiar to all students of the modern Russian opera. In English history the familiar instances are the "mammet of Scotland," whose claim to be Richard II was officially recognised by our Scottish enemies, and Perkin Warbeck, whose representation of himself as Richard, Duke of York, was widely accepted both in his own day and since. Now there was exceptional reason, far more than in most of the analogous cases I have mentioned, for believing that Edward II escaped the doom allotted to him at Berkeley, and, though no notorious claimant to his name ever presented himself, we can trace for the best part of a generation how the uncertainty of his fate moved men's minds and, as long as his enemies still ruled the land, how deliberate action based on the belief in his survival, stirred up men to deeds of daring and violence.

At first there was general scepticism as to Edward's fate, and we

can understand this better, now we know that he actually did for a time escape from his dungeon. But it is a remarkable thing that a large number of wise and influential people, and also some neither wise nor influential, profoundly believed that Edward was still alive. Among the latter we may safely class Edward's stupid and unpopular half-brother Edmund, Earl of Kent, whose disgust of Mortimer and Isabella led him into several half-hearted attempts against their administration. But the important thing is that so many of the better sort were impressed by the same rumour. Among these were the excellent Archbishop Melton of York, who had served him from youth up to the end; Bishop Gravesend of London, quite a respectable prelate; many Dominican friars on whom the mantle of Thomas Dunhead had fallen; some representatives of the official class, past and future; magnates who belonged to the court following, including Isabella's kinsman, Henry Beaumont; Scottish enemies of the realm; new and uncertain friends in France, and, strangest of all, the strong and masterful pope, John XXII, one of the greatest lawyers who ever sat on the papal throne. The Dunhead tradition still lingered. Thomas may have been dead, but one chronicler, Lanercost, believed that he was alive and was the preaching friar who convinced Kent of his brother's existence by conjuring up the devil to give testimony to that effect.[1] Even his brother Stephen escaped from gaol and was hard at work up to 1329. Unluckily we still have to move warily, for our chief information as to the development of this new phase of the sentiment of belief in Edward's remaining alive comes from a confession of Edmund of Kent, himself, whose stupidity and credulity make him a poor witness, even though he tried to tell the truth. Besides this Mortimer got wind of Kent's suspicions, and used some of his followers as *agents provocateurs* to lure the silly earl to his ruin. It is hard to know from Kent's story which of the officials were *bona fide* believers in Edward's existence and which were suborned to give false testimony. But we may readily assume that Maltravers, then steward of the household, was of the latter class. Anyhow Kent was involved in a net of treason from which abject confession afforded him no escape. With his execution in March,

[1] Lanercost (p. 265), who summarises Kent's confession from Murimuth (p. 253), identifies Thomas Dunhead with Kent's anonymous devil-invoking friar.

1330, the chief attempt to translate into action the belief that Edward still lived came to an end.

Another reason that suggests scepticism as to Edward of Carnarvon's murder is the extreme tenderness with which the suspected murderers were treated when in the Westminster Parliament of November, 1330, Mortimer and his chief abettors were tried and condemned. It is remarkable how small a place the death of Edward of Carnarvon took in the charges brought against them. It is true that Mortimer was declared guilty, among other counts, of having caused "the father of the lord king" to be murdered, but there were many other hanging matters brought up against him. Of those against whom common fame, then or later, brought direct charges of actually slaying Edward, two only, Sir Thomas Gurney and William Ogle, were convicted of "falsely and traitorously murdering the king's father," but both of these escaped their doom by flight. Ogle's share in the crime has up to lately been obscure, but recently a bright ray of new light has been flashed upon it. To this we shall soon recur. A third culprit, Simon Barford, was executed, but on other counts than the Berkeley murder. A fourth, Maltravers, was also condemned to death, but he, too, was arraigned on the very different charge of compassing the death of Edmund of Kent by persuading him that the old king was alive when he knew very well that he was dead. He, like Gurney and Ogle, escaped his fate by a speedy flight beyond seas. Thomas of Berkeley was dealt with most tenderly of all. Brought before parliament to explain how it happened that the lord Edward should have been suffered to be murdered in his castle and in his custody, he denied all responsibility. He had appointed Gurney and Ogle as his agents, having complete confidence in them. At the time of the murder he was lying sick at Bradley, miles away, and was too ill to have any memory of what had happened. Moreover, he only learnt in the present parliament that the late king had been murdered. Later a jury of knights appeared with Thomas in open parliament, and acquitted him of the chief charges brought against him.

Some of Berkeley's statements are plainly untrue. It looks as if his own household accounts disprove his absence from Berkeley; they certainly show he only got to Bradley more than a week later than Edward's reputed death. It is most improbable that he was so simple as never to have heard that his captive was supposed to have been

murdered, until nearly three years after the event. But parliament accepted him at his word, and ordered him to appear in the next parliament to answer the sole charge which it regarded as still requiring to be met, namely, his responsibility for the appointment of Gurney and Ogle by whom the king had been murdered. He was committed to the custody of the steward of the household. In the next parliament the case was still postponed, but, on the petition of the magnates, Berkeley was released from his bail. The business dragged on for nearly seven years. Even when parliament pronounced him guiltless of the murder, it still referred to the king's judgment whether any culpability was attached to him for so horrible a deed happening in his castle and involving a victim entrusted to his charge. At last, on 16 March, 1337, Edward III declared his complete acquittal. Berkeley played his part in the Scotch and French Wars, sat in parliament, and handed on his estates and dignities to a long line of successors.

An attempt to fasten the guilt of Edward's murder on William Ogle was made somewhat later than the proceedings of the parliament which had already condemned Ogle. Through Ogle it was hoped to attack the memory of Roger Mortimer himself and his still active lieutenant and agent, William Shalford, who, in 1327, had been acting on his behalf as justice of North Wales. This remarkable effort has only recently become known and deserves, therefore, careful consideration from us. It was due to the energy of the numerous Welsh enemies of Mortimer and his agents. These partisans took advantage of the establishment, after the fall of Mortimer and his henchman, of a fresh administration in Wales under the new justice, Sir John Wysham. They took to this officer a remarkable complaint against Shalford's action in September, 1327. Howel ap Gruffydd, a Welsh gentleman of some position, who apparently held a quasi-official position as the king's prosecutor,[1] appeared before justice Wysham, and formally "appealed," that is accused, William Shalford of feloniously encompassing the death of Edward of Carnarvon, and challenged him to trial by battle to prove the accusation. His story was that Shalford procured Edward's death by warning Mortimer, who at once took the hint, that it was only by slaying the ex-king

[1] "Qi suyt pur nostre seignur le roi." See later in appendix.

that the danger of a successful plot to release and restore him could be obviated.

Wysham, an old partisan of Mortimer and Isabella,[1] seems to have been embarrassed by Howel's appeal and referred it to the king's chancery. Thence the case was sent by writ before the justices of what was later called the court of King's Bench, and 18 April, 1331, was appointed for its hearing. The appellant and the defender each found sureties for his appearance, and the fact that many of the leading magnates of Gwynedd, at their head the famous Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, acted as sureties, or "manucaptors," of Howel, shewed how strong was the local backing of the attack on Mortimer's agent. But nothing decisive came of the "appeal". An illness, contracted on his journey to the court, prevented Howel putting in his appearance on the appointed day, or during the short period of grace following. Though he duly presented himself at subsequent hearings some time later, it was finally decided that his claim had been lost through his defeasance.[2]

The motive for this judgment was not unlikely to have been that same policy of hushing up scandals that had already so strongly influenced the action of the young king in this matter. But it led to no concrete results. Ogle had already escaped, and as he seems soon after to have died abroad, nothing was to be gained by pressing the suit. After all, it was not only an attempt to bring a murderer to justice and to exact reparation from an oppressive governor. It was emphatically a quarrel between the Welsh of Gwynedd and the English dwellers in the garrison towns of North Wales, whom Shalford represented.[3] Shalford himself seems soon to have been restored to favour, for we find him acting as keeper of Mortimer's forfeited lands.[4] Thus once more the welfare of the young king on the throne was preferred to meticulous inquiry as to the circumstances of his father's death.

Of the three reputed murderers of Edward III, we now know how it fared with Ogle. Gurney and Maltravers, alike in their exile,

[1] He had been steward of the household in 1328 and 1329.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *1330-4*, p. 208.

[3] The two lists of "manucaptors," for Howel and Shalford respectively, see later in appendix, show this clearly. See also *C.P.R.*, *1330-4*, pp. 61, 143.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 323. See also *C.C.R.*, *1330-3*, pp. 345, 350, 460, 461.

had in the end curiously different fates. Gurney was the only one of the three upon whom Edward III took any trouble to lay hands. In 1331 he was arrested by the king of Castile at the instance of the English king, who sent a member of his household to receive the prisoner. However, long delays ensued and Gurney took advantage of them to effect his escape. Next year the vengeance of the English king ran him to earth at Naples, and this time he was safely delivered to a Yorkshire knight, sent by Edward to bring him home. The route taken was by way of Gascony, and Gurney reached Bayonne in safety. There he broke down in health and died. His keeper meticulously carried out his commission, for he embalmed the body and brought it by sea to England. There, perhaps, the punishment allotted to the living man may have been gratuitously inflicted on his corpse. This is a possible explanation of the story told by Murimuth and copied by Baker, that he was beheaded at sea.

Maltravers lived many years in Flanders, and soon proved himself so useful to Edward III that it was thought injudicious to make any serious attempt to run him to earth. His wife, who lived comfortably on her dower lands in England, was apparently allowed to visit him from time to time, at first under the pretext of a pilgrimage and later without any pretence in the matter.[1] Meanwhile Maltravers seems to have established himself in an influential position in Flanders, and finally did good work for England in cementing the Anglo-Flemish alliance of 1340. Accordingly in 1342 Agnes his wife was allowed to stay with him in Flanders for such time as she pleased, notwithstanding his sentence of banishment from England.[2] But the crumbling of the Anglo-Flemish alliance in 1345 made Maltravers' position in Flanders precarious, and when in that year Edward III appeared in the port of Sluys to hold his last interview with Artevelde, who went straight from it to his death, Maltravers of his own will submitted to the king and prayed that, as he had been condemned unheard, he might be allowed to stand his trial in parliament. The king declared that, being anxious for justice, and recognising that by Maltravers' loyal service to England in Flanders he had lost all his goods there, and could not abide there longer without great peril, he should receive a safe conduct to

[1] *C.C.R., 1330-3*, p. 584 (24 July, 1332), license to Agnes Maltravers to cross from Dover going on pilgrimage by the king's license.

[2] *C.P.R., 1340-3*, p. 378 (15 February, 1342).

stand his trial. In 1345, as a step towards the restitution of his estates, the king took them out of the jurisdiction of the exchequer and reserved them for the king's chamber.[1] In 1348 he sent Maltravers along with a leading merchant, as his envoy to the "three towns" of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres.[2] At last in 1351 Maltravers' restitution was completed. The king annulled his outlawry and restored him to the estate he possessed before the judgment passed against him, and paid a handsome acknowledgment to his great services to the crown and to his resistance of the large offers made to him by the king's adversaries to draw him from his allegiance. Thus the humbler brother-in-law of Berkeley obtained, after over twenty years, the pardon Thomas obtained after seven. He once more sat in parliament, though he was now too old for fighting, so that who would have him a combatant at Crecy and Poitiers confuse him with his son. He died at a good old age in 1364.

The tendency in 1330 and 1331 had been to make the humbler instruments the scapegoat of the real criminals; but though a policy of forget and forgive is doubtless a noble one, we cannot help feeling that the honour of Edward III does not shine the brighter by reason of his easy-going complaisance to his father's murderers. It was, I suspect, but another exemplification of the comfortable system of hushing up scandals, and it was reasonable enough that, so long as the old Queen Isabella was allowed to go free, it was unjust to inflict condign vengeance upon her agents. Like his grandfather Edward I, Edward III probably thought that the wisest course was to wash his dirty linen in all privacy. It was, in fact, another aspect of the policy of silence that had so long enveloped Edward II's fate in mystery. So late as in 1366, when John Froissart paid a visit to Berkeley, that restless seeker after news inquired about Edward of Carnarvon's fate as if it were still a moot question. "I asked," wrote he, "what had happened to that king. An ancient esquire told me that he died within a year of coming to Berkeley, for some one cut his life short. Thus died that king of England. Let us not speak longer of him but turn to the queen and her son." With this outpouring of worldly wisdom, we may leave the matter at rest.

Despite all contrary evidence, the tradition that Edward escaped

[1] *C.C.R., 1346-9*, p. 89 (10 July, 1346). [2] *Fœdera*, iii. 162.

from Berkeley took a long time to vanish, and a discovery of some forty years ago, confirming as it does that letter of John Walwayn, must not be passed over in silence. There is preserved at Montpellier, among the records of the ancient bishopric of Maguelonne,[1] a most remarkable letter written to Edward III by a Genoese priest, beneficed in England. In this the writer informs the king that he had heard in confession that Edward II was still alive and, with absolute contempt of the canon imposing secrecy on confessors, he felt it right to acquaint the king with the circumstances. He goes on to give an entirely accurate and circumstantial account of the misfortunes of the fallen monarch up to his imprisonment at Berkeley. Whether the rest of the story is equally precise is another matter. At Berkeley, the tale proceeds, a servant told Edward of Carnarvon that Thomas Gurney and Simon Barford had come to the castle to slay him, and offered to lend him his clothes that he might effect his escape, disguised as the servant. Edward accepted the proposal, slew the sleeping porter, stole his keys, and obtained his freedom. Gurney and his associate, fearful of the queen's indignation at the escape of her enemy, pretended that the body of the porter was that of her husband, and it was the porter's body which was buried at Gloucester and the porter's heart that was sent in a casket to the queen. The fugitive then found a refuge at Corfe until, after the failure of the earl of Kent, he found it prudent to leave the country. He first fled to Ireland, but afterwards made his way through England and traversed all France from Flanders to Languedoc. At Avignon he had an interview with John XXII who received him kindly. Then followed more wanderings and an ultimate settlement in various hermit cells in Italy, where, apparently, he was still residing at the time of the writing of the letter.

It is a remarkable document, so specious and detailed, and bearing none of those marks by which the gross mediæval forgery can generally be detected. Yet who can believe it true? Who shall decide how it arose? Was it simply a fairy tale? Was it the real confession of a madman? Was it a cunning effort of some French enemies to discredit the conqueror of Crecy? Or was it an intelligent attempt to exact hush money from a famous king whose beginnings

[1] It is printed, with comments, in Stubbs' *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, Introduction to vol. ii., pp. ciii-cviii.

had been based upon his father's murder and his mother's adultery? One thing only is clear and that is that the political suppression of the truth never pays in the long run and invariably piles up difficulties in the path of those who would evade their troubles by such easy means. Luckily, both for Edward III, and for those who did Edward II to death, the age was not over squeamish, and there is no reason for believing that they were ever a penny the worse from all the attempts to prove that the dead were alive.

It is clear that to the plain man the tomb at Gloucester was believed to contain all that was mortal of the unhappy Edward of Carnarvon. Feasting with Abbot Thoky in the *aula abbatis* on one of his visits to Gloucester, Edward II had noticed the row of royal effigies adorning the walls of the abbot's noble hall. He smilingly asked his host whether his portrait would not in due course be added to them. Thoky answered that he hoped the king would be ultimately placed in a more distinguished place than that which his predecessors occupied. Herein the Gloucester chronicler, who tells the story, claimed Thoky as a true prophet, for the burial place of the victim of Berkeley, on the north side of the high altar of the abbey choir, was soon distinguished by one of the rarest triumphs of fourteenth century craftsmanship, and was resorted to as to a place of pilgrimage by such a crowd of devotees that the church of St. Peter attained a higher state of prosperity and distinction than ever it had had before. No great church could feel content unless it had a saint of its own, sufficiently popular to attract the concourse of the faithful. If not a formally canonised saint, then a reputed saint or martyr would serve at a pinch. The English had acquired the habit of idealising any public character who died of violence as the personification of some principle which it revered. Thus St. Thomas of Canterbury, who really laid down his life to vindicate the supremacy of Canterbury over York, was, all over Europe, worshipped as a martyr for the liberties of holy church. The age of the Edwards preferred a saint who had some touch of politics in him, and the generation which wished to canonise the quarrelsome Archbishop Winchelsea and the disreputable Thomas of Lancaster, gave the informal honours of sanctity to the king who had atoned for the weakness of his life by the tragedy of his end.

It was for a time a matter of dispute, as in the case of Thomas of Lancaster, whether Edward was a saint or not. Many people said that

he died a martyr and did many miracles. But, a cautious chronicler warns us that imprisonment and an opprobrious death make no man a martyr if his holiness of life correspond not to his fame. But the crowd had it over the sceptics, who saw in the visits to the shrine the love of women to go gadding about rather than the impulse of holy zeal. But the doubters were soon silenced. Almost at once king Edward's tomb became a place of pious pilgrimage. Before 1337 the swarm of pilgrims was such that the town of Gloucester could hardly lodge the multitude that thronged to the martyr's shrine from all parts of England.

The material results of this flow of pilgrims was soon seen in the changes wrought in the fabric of the house of St. Peter's at Gloucester. At first their offerings enabled Abbot Wigmore (1329-37) to completely rebuild, from foundations to roof, the "aisle of St. Andrew," that is, the south transept of his church. This was but the first step in a long process. Before his death in 1337 Abbot Wigmore had made substantial progress towards the reconstruction of the eastern half of the abbey church which resulted in the transepts and choir, though retaining their ancient romanesque core, being faced with a casing of masonry erected in the fashion of building called "perpendicular". The mediæval architect was no archæologist, but the Gloucester work solved cheaply and effectively the problem how a Norman structure might, without the expense of rebuilding, be converted into the semblance of an up-to-date modern church. The problem was a general one, and there is no wonder that the solution begun in the south transept of Gloucester Abbey was imitated far and wide. Thus the "perpendicular" style of building was taken from its first home of Gloucester and was adapted and popularised by Edington and Wykeham in their grandiose operations at Winchester and elsewhere. It should, however, be clearly remembered that the needs resulting from the cult of Edward of Carnarvon, and the affluence which flowed from this, first started the new style. This fact alone would give Gloucester a place of its own in architectural history.[1]

Among the pilgrims to Gloucester came Edward III, his son the Black Prince, his wife Philippa of Hainault, and his sister Queen Joan of Scotland. Their lavish offerings increased the luxury of the

[1] See for this R. Willis in *Archæological Journal*, xvii. 335-42 (1860).

equipment of the minster and found its finest expression in the famous tomb[1] with its delicate tabernacle work and its striking effigy of the beautiful but weak face of the murdered king. The "right goodly and sumptuous" cloisters, the "exceedingly fair" central tower,[2] the beginnings of the rebuilding of the western part of the nave, all testified that the succeeding generations of Gloucester monks still had the means and the taste to carry further the reconstruction of their church and cloister after the best fashions of the "perpendicular" period. But the cult of Edward of Carnarvon was too artificial to endure for long, and there is little evidence that it survived the fifteenth century. That this and so many other popular canonisations failed to establish themselves is one of the minor obligations we owe to the papacy, whose rigid method of inquiry into the claims of candidates for saintship did so much to uphold the gravity of mediæval worship amidst the flood of superstition and credulity that threatened to overwhelm it.

[1] For the tomb, see *Archæological Journal*, xvii. 297-319 (1860).

[2] I quote the words of Leland, *Itinerary*, ii. 61.

APPENDIX I

A WELSH CONSPIRACY TO RELEASE EDWARD II.

I AM indebted to Mr. Edward Owen, whose *flair* for finding out new points of mediæval Welsh history is well known, for the opportunity of studying the record of the appeal of Howel ap Gruffydd against William of Shalford [1] for compassing the death of Edward II. This is not quite a new discovery, for the late Mr. T. G. Williams has already published a short paper on the matter in the Cardiff *Nationalist*, Vol. III., No. 28, pp. 26-30 (July, 1909). Mr. Williams, however, only knew the story from the Floyd transcripts, now in the National Library of Wales, and his interesting comments are partially vitiated by his not being quite in a position to put the incident in its historical setting. Mr. Edward Owen, to whom I also owe my knowledge of Mr. Williams' article, found the record referred to in the *Coram Rege Rolls*, and made a transcript of it, which he has most kindly allowed me to use for my paper, and print here. I have "extended" to the best of my ability Mr. Owen's transcript, and have compared it with the original manuscript roll. There must, however, always have been some doubt as to the extension of proper names. In particular Welsh personal and place-names open up an abundant source of error, because they were often written out by scribes ignorant and incurious of Welsh. If this be the case sometimes with documents emanating from the chanceries at Carnarvon and Carmarthen, it must be still more the case with a record of the justices *coram rege*, whose clerks are not likely to have had either knowledge or interest in the matter. How much truth there was in Howel's story must remain an open question.

[1] William of Shalford, king's clerk, was a minor member of the bureaucracy who devoted a long career to the royal service in Wales. His activity extended from before 1301 to at least 1337, when he received a grant of lands because he had been employed under Edward I and Edward II in repressing sedition and putting down rebels in North Wales (*C.P.R., 1334-8*, p. 399. He was constable of the castles, and therefore mayor of the towns, of Carnarvon and Criccieth, and lieutenant of Mortimer as justice of North Wales. Changing his allegiance with each change of government, he was royalist up to 1326, a partisan of Mortimer from 1326-30 and finally became in May, 1331, keeper of Mortimer's forfeited lands in Wales, and in high favour with such personal adherents of Edward III as William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury. In 1339 he, or a namesake of another generation but the same clan, was appointed baron and remembrancer of the exchequer of North Wales at Carnarvon (*ib., 1338-40*, p. 322). Our text shows that he was a burgess of Carnarvon, in which town he naturally mainly resided.

But that there was some conspiracy in Gwyndod is proved by the wholesale arrests made about October, 1327, at Carnarvon of men like Gruffydd Llwyd and Howel himself, who were prominent in the proceedings of 1331.[1]

Apart from the new side light thrown by the record on the circumstances preceding Edward of Carnarvon's death, the document suggests some important subjects of discussion in relation to general Welsh history. I cannot deal with these on this occasion, but I hope some one will be found who is willing to work them up. The most striking is the interesting problem of the jurisdiction of the English court in what was substantially a Welsh cause.[2] This point was apparently raised at some of the hearings, but the decision carefully evaded an opinion as to the main issue. Jurisdiction was claimed because what had happened in Berkeley happened in England, but no opinion was expressed either for or against the doctrine that suits from Carnarvon ought not to be brought *coram rege* by way of appeal. As "the Principality" was at the moment in the king's hands, and the justices *coram rege* were supposed to be the mere mouthpieces of the king's personal judgments, it is difficult to see how a decision adverse to their jurisdiction could be compatible with feudal or monarchical tradition. But the strongly expressed claim of Howel that, as a foreigner, he was not amenable to English courts, is worth noting, if only as an assertion of the nationalist point of view. This is the more remarkable because of Howel's connections with Gruffydd Llwyd and the Welsh official class, whose whole-hearted adherence to their English princes is one of the most remarkable features of early fourteenth century Welsh history. Moreover, as Mr. J. G. Edwards has pointed out to me, Howel is probably the same person as the Howel ap Gruffydd who represented Anglesea in the parliament of 1327 on one of the two occasions before Henry VIII when Welsh members were summoned.

RECORD OF THE APPEAL OF HOWEL AP GRUFFYDD AGAINST WILLIAM OF SHALFORD.

[From *Coram Rege Rolls*, 5 Edw. III, Trinity Term, No. 285, *Placita corone*, M. 9 (towards the end).][3]

Adhuc de Termino Sancte Trinitatis.

Wallia. Dominus rex mandauit justiciario suo Northwallie breue suum in hec verba—Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dominus

[1] *C.C.R., 1327-30*, p. 182. They were released on bail on 26 October.

[2] A similar claim to exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary English courts was raised in 1310 on behalf of the "palatinate" of Chester. See Miss M. Tout's note on "Comitatus Palacii" in *English Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 418-19 (1920). Both in Cheshire and in the Principality these claims were made at a time when the two great franchises in question were in the king's hands.

[3] In *Chancery Miscellanea*, Bundle 87, File 1, No. 21, is a fragment of the writ in this case. It has supplied some useful corrections of proper names. It should be noted that the proceedings *coram rege* were at Lincoln.

Aquitanie, justiciario suo Northwallie vel eius locum tenenti salutem. Cum Howelus ap Griffidd appellet coram vobis Willelmum de Shaldeford de quibusdam sedicionibus, confederacionibus et excessibus, tam contra dominum Edwardum quondam regem Anglie, patrem nostrum, quam contra nos factis, ac appellum illud alibi quam coram nobis terminari non possit, vobis mandamus firmiter iniungentes quod appellum predictum cum attachiamentis et omnibus adminiculis appellum illud tangentibus nobis sub sigillo vestro distincte et aperte sine dilacione mittatis, et hoc breue, ut ulterius in hac parte quod iustum fuerit fieri faciamus. Teste me ipso, apud Eltham, xxviij° die Marcii, anno regni nostri quinto.[1]

Pretextu cuius breuis predictus justiciarius misit coram domino rege in cancellaria sua appellum predictum in hec verba.

Howel ap Griffud, qe cy est, qe suyt pur nostre seignur le roi qore est, appele Willame de Shaldeforde, qe illeoqes est, du consail et de compassement de la mort sire Edward, piere nostre seignur le roi qore est, qe Dieu garde, felonousement et traiterousement occis et murdretz. Et pur ceo du consail et cumpassement qe le lundy procheyn apres la feste de la Natiuite nostre Dame, lan du regne nostre seignur le roi Edward qore est, qe Dieu gard, premer,[2] a Rosfeyre en Anglesea,[3] mesme celuy Willame ordeina et fist une lettre, et la maunda a sire Rogier de Mortymer a Bergeueny, en la quele lettre fust contenuz qe sire Rees ap Griffud[4] et autres de sa coueigne assemblerent poer en Southgales et en Northgales, par assent dascuns des grantz de la terre Dengleterre, pur forciblement deliuerer le dit sire Edward, piere nostre dit seignur le roi, qe adunqes fust detenuz en le chastiel de Bercleye; et luy fist entendre par sa dite lettre qe si le dit sire Edward fust deliures en ascune manere, qe le dit sire Rogier et touz les seons morreient de male mort, ou serroient destrutz a remenaunt. Sur quoi le dit Willame, trayterousement come traytour, par la dite lettre conseilla le dit sire Rogier qil ordinast tiel remedie endroit des choses susdites qe le dit sire Rees ne nul autre Dengleterre ne de Gales aueroient matere de penser de sa deliueraunce. Sur quey le dit sire Rogier monstra la dite

[1] 28 March, 1331. [2] Monday, 14 September, 1327.

[3] Rhosfair, Mr. J. G. Edwards tells me, was the chief vill in the Anglesea cwmwd of Menai, a residence of Llewelyn the Great, and the site of the later "English" borough of Newborough.

[4] Rhys ap Gruffydd was a magnate of West Wales, king's yeoman under Edward II and often employed as arrayer of troops from South Wales, lieutenant of the justice of South Wales and keeper of Dynevor and other castles and lands in that district. He was faithful to Edward II to the end (*Fœdera*, II, 647). Subsequently pardoned and knighted, he led the revolt of 1327 in South Wales. In February, 1328, he was again pardoned (*C.P.R., 1327-30*, pp. 238, 242, 256). His offences included disobedience to royal orders, adhering to the Scots and departure from the realm. *C.P.R., 1321-24*, p. 398, throws light upon his family connections. He stood to West Wales almost in the relation in which Gruffydd Llwyd stood to North Wales.

lettre a Willame Docleye,[1] et lui comaunda de porter la dite lettre a Bercleye a ceux qauoient le dit sire Edward en garde; et lui chargea qe les chargeast de part lui qils soient consaillaunt sur les pointz contenuz deinz la dite lettre et qils feisseit hastiue remedie pur greindre peril eschuer. Le quel Willame Docleye enprist la charge, et fist le comandement le dit sire Rogier. Sur quoi le dit Willame Docleye et les autres qauoient le dit sire Edward en gard trayterousement oscirent et murdrirent le dite sire Edward, pier nostre seignur le roi, en destruction du saunc real. Cel conseil et compassement fist le dit Willame de Shaldeforde, trayterousement come traitour, encountre sa ligeaunce, en destruction de real sanc nostre dit seignour le roi, par le quel consaill et compassement le dit sire Edward, piere nostre dit seignur le roi, fu trayterousment oscis et murdretz. Et si le dit Willame de Shaldeford le veot dedire, le dit Howel, come liges homme nostre dit seignur le roi, est prest a prouer le, sur lui par son corps, come sur le traitour nostre dit seignur le roi. Et a ceo faire le dit Howel ad done son gage en la mayn monsire Johan de Wysham, justice nostre seignur le roi en Northgales, a Beaumaroys, le viij^{e} jour de mars, et ad troue xij plegges de suyr cest appel, cest asauoir sire Griffud Thl[oyd],[2] Gronou ap Tuder, et autres.

Misit eciam predictus justiciarius cancellarie regis predicti manucaptionem predicti Howelli in hec verba—Pateat uniuersis per presentes quod nos, Griffinus ap Rees, Gronou ap Tuder, Ioreward ap Griffid, Willyam ap Griffid, Dauid ap Gwyn, Griffid ap Edeneued, Tuder ap Dauid. Ieuan ap Edeneued, Lewelin ap Adam, Cadugan ap Rees, Adam Gough ap Adam, Ioreward ap Eignoun ap Ioreward, Tegwered ap Ieuan, Ioreward Gough ap Howel, Eignon ap Adam ap Mereduk, Ioreward ap Dauid, Ieuan ap Keneuth,[3] Ioreward ap Maddok Thloit, accepimus in ballium die confeccionis presentium de domino Johanne de Wysham, justiciario Northwallie, corpus Howelli ap Griffud ap Ioreward in castro de Kaernaruan incarcerati, videlicet unusquisque nostrum, corpus pro corpore, sub on ni eo quod erga dominum regem forisfacere poterimus, ad habendum corpus suum coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium, xviij^{o} die Aprilis proxime futuro, ad prosequendum appellum suum versus Willelmum de Shaldeford de morte domini Edwardi regis Anglie, patris domini regis nunc, unde cum appellauit, et ad faciendum super premissis id quod dominus rex et consilium eius ordinauerint. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus.

[1] This person is generally called Ogle in modern books and sometimes in the sources. But I suspect that William of Ockley was his real name. This text explains for the first time why he was charged with Edward's murder.

[2] Gruffydd ap Rhys and Gruffydd Llwyd are, as Mr. J. G. Edwards has conclusively shown, one and the same person. Mr. Edwards points out to me that the fact that Gruffydd Llwyd was at large in 1331 tends towards confirming his conjecture as to the date of Gruffydd's second imprisonment. For this see *English Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 596-98 (1915).

[3] "Keneuth" is the clear reading. "Cynfrig" is probably the name meant by the clerk.

Datum apud Kaernaruan, die Jovis proximo post diem dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quinto.[1]

Insuper misit idem justiciarius quandam aliam manucaptionem predicti Willelmi de Shaldeford in cancellaria predicta in hec verba—Pateat uniuersis par presentes quod nos, Hugo de Hammton, senior, Rogerus de Acton, Johannes de Hamtton, Ricardus de Monte Gomeri, Philippus de Neuton, Robertus de Helpeston, Johannes de Baddesleie, Henricus le Taillour, Johannes de Harleye, Radulphus de Neuport, Henricus de Euerdon, et Willelmus Lagheles, burgenses ville de Kaernaruan, Henricus Somer, Willelmus Adynet, Nicholaus de Saredon, Robertus le Porter, Willelmus Sturmy, Petrus de Ouerton, Johannes de Morton, Johannes del Wode et Rogerus de Wolashale, burgenses ville de Conewey, Thomas de Peulesdon, burgensis ville de Bala, Johannes le Colier et Walterus filius Dauid, burgenses ville de Hardelagh, accepimus in ballium die confeccionis presencium, de domino Johanni de Wysham, justiciario North Wallie, corpus Willelmi de Shaldeford, burgensis ville de Kaernaruan, in castro de Kaernaruan, eodem die incarcerati, ad prosecucionem cuiusdam appelli per Howelum ap Griffith ap Ioreward versus ipsum Willelmum facti, videlicet unusquisque nostrum, corpus pro corpore, et sub omni eo quod erga dominum regem forisfacere poterimus, ad habendum corpus, eius coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium, xviij · die Aprilis proxime futuro, ad faciendum super premissis quod idem dominus rex et eius consilium ordinauerint. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra opposuimus. Datum apud Caernaruan die Veneris, xxij° die Martii, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quinto.

Quod quidem appellum vna cum manucapcionibus predictis dominus rex misit a cancellaria sua justiciariis suis hic in hec verba—Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie, dilectis et fidelibus suis, Galfrido le Scrope et sociis suis justiciariis ad placita coram nobis tenenda assignatis, salutem. Mittimus vobis sub pede sigilli nostri appellum quod Howelus ap Griffith fecit coram justiciario nostro Northwallie versus Willelmum de Shaldeford de quibusdam sedicionibus, confederacionibus et excessibus tam contra dominum Edwardum, quondam regem Anglie patrem nostrum, quam contra nos factis. Quod quidem appellum coram nobis in cancellaria nostra certis de causis venire fecimus, ut ulterius in hac parte fieri faciatis quod secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri fuerit facienda. Teste Johanne de Eltham, comite Cornubie, fratre nostro, custode regni nostri, apud Eltham, xviij° die Aprilis anno regni nostri quinto.

Ad quem xviij^{m} diem Aprilis, scilicet anno regni domini regis nunc quinto, venit predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford per manucapcionem supradictam, et optulit se versus predictum Howel ap Griffith de appello suo. Et predictus Howell, eodem die et in crastino solempniter vocatus, non venit; set tercio die sequenti post predictum xviij ^{m} diem venit. Et allocutus de eo quod non venit ad predictum xviij^{m} diem coram rege, sicut mandatum fuit, prosequendus appellum suum predictum, dicit quod ipse in veniendo per viam apud Wigorniam versus curiam, hic infirmabatur per duos dies quod nullo modo

[1] 28 March, 1331.

potuit equitare, nec ad diem predictum hic interesse. Et hoc verificare prout curia, etc. Et super hoc certis de causis datus est dies tam predicto Howello quam predicto Willelmo coram rege a die sancti Trinitatis in xv dies,[1] ubicumque, etc. Et predictus Howelus interim dimittitur per manucapcionem Griffith Ffloyt militis, Dauid ap Howel, Grone ap Yerwath, Lewelyn ap Griffuth, Griffyn ap Dauid, et Yerwarth ap Adam, omnes de Wallia, qui eum manuceperunt habendum coram domino rege ad prefatum terminum, videlicet corpus pro corpore, etc. Quod Willelmus de Shaldeford similiter dimittitur per manucapcionem Nicholai de Acton clerici, Johannis de Ouerton, Johannis Stutmere de comitatu Salopie, . . . Benet de comitatu Somersete, Dionisii de Wathe de comitatu Lincolnie et Johannis de Housom de comitatu Eboraci, qui eum manuceperunt coram domino rege ad prefatum terminum ubicunque, etc., videlicet corpora pro corpore, etc.

Ad quam quindenam sancte Trinitatis,[1] scilicet anno regni domini regis nunc quinto, venerunt tam predictus Howelus ap Griffith quam predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford [in] personis suis. Et predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford dicit quod predictus Howelus ap Griffith alias habuit diem, scilicet xviij° die Aprilis proximo preterrito, ad prosequendum appellum suum predictum coram domino rege hic, etc. Ad quem diem idem Howel licet [et primo] et secundo die solempniter vocatus fuerit, non venit, appellum suum predictum prosecuturus, etc. Et ex quo appellatores quilibet parati esse debeant, etc., petit iudicium de non secta sua, etc. Et predictus Howel dicit quod ipse est alienigena natus in principatu Wallie extra regnum Anglie, et licet ipse paratus sit appellum suum prosequi ubi et quando, etc., de appellis tamen seu de aliis placitis emergentibus infra principatum predictum, habet deduci per legem et consuetudinem eiusdem principatus, non per legem Anglicanam, etc. Et super hoc veniunt Griffyn ap Rees, Rees ap Griffyn, Dauid ap Howel, Seroun ap Yerewarth, Yereward Tue, Griffyn ap Keghny,[2] et alii pro se et comunitate tocius principatus predicti; et petunt quod de appello predicto quod infra principatum predictum emersit, cuius cognito infra eundem principatum habet deduci et non alibi, quod ipsi non ponantur in placitum in curia hic contra legem et consuetudinem principatus predicti, etc. Et super hoc quibusdam certis de causis datus est eis dies coram domino rege a die sancti Michaelis in tres septimanas,[3] uibicumque, etc., eodem statu quo nunc, etc. Et predictus Howelus interim dimittitur per manucapcionem Griffini ap Rees, Rees ap Griffyn, Dauid ap Howel, Seroun ap Herewarth, Yarward Tue, Griffyn ap Tuder, Dauid ap Rees, Griffyn ap Deuoueyt, Euwan ap Griffith, Dauid ap Kethin, Maddok ap Dauid, et Tuder ap Dauid, qui eum manuceperunt habendum coram domino rege ad prefatum diem, videlicet corpora pro corpore, etc. Et similiter predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford interim dimittitur per manucapcionem Howeli ap Maddok de Nanconewey, Johannis de Hamtone de comitatu de Caernaruan, Johannis de Housum de comitatu Eboraci, Johannis de Erewell[4] de comitatu Angleseia, Johannis de Eccleshale de comitatu Staffordie,

[1] 10 June, 1331. [2] or Keghuy. [3] 20 (or 21) October, 1331.
[4] The reading in *Chanc. Misc.* is "Eriswell".

Ricardi Bagh de Cruk,[1] Ricardi de Wymesbury de comitatu Salopie, et Johannis de Ouerton de eodem comitatu, qui eum manuceperunt habendum[2] coram domino rege ad prefatum terminum ubicumque, etc., videlicet corpora pro corpore, etc.

Ad quem diem veniunt tam predictus Howelus ap Griffith quam predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford per manucaptores predictos. Et inspecto recordo predicto, compertum est in eodem quod alias in curia hic, scilicet ad predictum decimum octauum diem Aprilis, predictus Howelus, primo et secundo die exactus, non venit appellum predictum prosecuturus ubi secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Anglie considerari deberet, quod idem Howelus esset non prosecutus, si appellum illud esset acceptabile secundum legem et consuetudinem regni predicti. Et similiter compertum est in eodem, quod predictus Howelus, appellatus predictum Willelmum de quibusdam contentis in appello, que fieri deberent infra principatum Wallie et de quibusdam que fieri deberent apud Berkele infra regnum Anglie, quod quidem appellum in curia regis hic secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Anglie ad finalem exitum deducendum sine die non potest in forma predicta, per quod dictum est eis quod eant inde sine die, etc.

[1] Probably, but not certainly, Criccieth.
[2] The MS. reading is "habendi".

APPENDIX II.

A POEM ATTRIBUTED TO EDWARD II.

THERE has long lurked at Longleat a manuscript, the property of the Marquis of Bath, which includes a French poem described as "De le roi Edward le fiz roi Edward le chanson qe il fist mesmes". It has been known to some extent by reason of a misleading Latin version in Fabyan's *Chronicle* (p. 185), and has been shortly described in *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Third Report, Ap., p. 180. It purports to be written by the king in his captivity, and describes his emotions and sufferings with some sincerity and feeling. Prof. Studer of Oxford tells me that he had transcribed this poem from the Longleat manuscript and proposes shortly to publish it. The manuscript is, Prof. Studer thinks, not later than 1350, so that its definite ascription of its authorship to the king has some measure of authority. The question whether Edward wrote the poem can only be settled, if ever, when we have the text before us. Certainly, if Edward II ever took to literature, he would have written in French, and his love of minstrels, play-actors, and music may conceivably have driven him in the leisure of his imprisonment into verse. On the other hand he seems to me to have been unlikely to write anything. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that the poem is another part of the case for exciting sympathy with the dethroned king in his misfortunes and is likely, therefore, to be a conscious effort of his numerous and eager partisans to effect his release, reinstatement or canonisation, rather than an original outpouring of an illiterate sovereign. Meanwhile I should add that Prof. Studer, who, unlike myself, knows the poem at first hand, is impressed with the possibility of its having been composed by Edward of Carnarvon. In any case he will be doing a real service to scholarship by printing so interesting a document. I must express my obligation to him for having discussed the matter with me and for affording me the material on which this note is based.

RECENT TENDENCIES IN EUROPEAN POETRY.[1]

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WHEN Matthew Arnold declared that every age receives its best interpretation in its poetry, he was making a remark hardly conceivable before the century in which it was made. Poetry in the nineteenth century was, on the whole, more charged with meaning, more rooted in the stuff of humanity and the heart of nature, less a mere province of *belles-lettres*, than ever before. Consciously or unconsciously it reflected the main currents in the mentality of European man, and the reflection was often most clear where it was least conscious. Two of these main currents are :—

1. The vast and steady enlargement of our knowledge of the compass, the history, the potencies of Man, Nature, the World.

2. The growth in our sense of the *worth* of every part of existence.

Certain aspects of these two processes are popularly known as "the advance of science," and "the growth of democracy". But how far "science" reaches beyond the laboratory and the philosopher's study, and "democracy" beyond political freedom and the ballot-box, is precisely what poetry compels us to understand ; and not least the poetry of the last sixty years with which we are to-day concerned.

How then does the history of poetry in Europe during these sixty years stand in relation to these underlying processes ? On the surface, at least, it hardly resembles growth at all. In France above all—the literary focus of Europe, and its sensitive thermometer—the movement of poetry has been, on the surface, a succession of pronounced and even fanatical schools, each born in reaction from its precursor, and

[1] This lecture has appeared, in a completer form, in Mr. F. S. Marvin's *Recent Developments in European Thought* (Clarendon Press, 1920).

succumbing to the triumph of its successor. Yet a deeper scrutiny will perceive that these warring artists were, in fact, groups of successive discoverers, who each added something to the resources and the scope of poetry, and also retained and silently adopted the discoveries of the past ; while the general line of advance is in the direction marked by the two main currents I have described. Nowhere else is the succession of phases so sharp and clear as in France. But since France does reflect more sensitively than any other country the movement of the mind of Europe, and since her own mind has, more than that of any other country, radiated ideas and fashions out over the rest of Europe, these phases are in fact traceable also, with all kinds of local and national variations, in Italy and Spain, Germany and England, and I propose to take this fact as the basis of our present very summary and diagrammatic view. The three phases of the sixty years are roughly divided by the years 1880 and 1900.

The first, most clearly seen in the French Parnassians, is in close, if unconscious, sympathy with the temper of science. Poetry, brought to the limit of expressive power, is used to express, with the utmost veracity, precision, and impersonal self-suppression, the beauty and the tragedy of the world. It sought Hellenic lucidity and Hellenic calm —in the example most familiar to us, the Stoic calm and "sad lucidity" of Matthew Arnold.

The second, best seen in the French Symbolists, was directly hostile to science. But they repelled its confident analysis of material reality in the name of a part of reality which it ignored or denied, an immaterial world which they mystically apprehended, which eluded direct description, frustrated rhetoric, and was only to be come at by the magical suggestion of colour, music, and symbol. It is most familiar to us in the "Celtic" verse of Mr. Yeats and "A. E.".

The third, still about us, and too various and incomplete for final definition, is in closer sympathy with science, but, in great part, only because science has itself found accommodation between nature and spirit, a new ideality born of, and growing out of, the real. If the first found Beauty, the end of art, in the plastic repose of sculpture, and the second in the mysterious cadences of music, the poetry of the twentieth century finds its ideal in life, in the creative evolution of being, even in the mere things, the "prosaic" pariahs of previous poetry, on which our shaping wills are wreaked. We know it in

poets unlike one another but yet more unlike their predecessors, from D'Annunzio and Dehmel and Claudel to our Georgian experimenters in the poetry of paradox and adventure.

I. Poetic Naturalism.

The third quarter of the nineteenth century opened, in western Europe, with a decided set-back for those who lived on dreams, and a corresponding complacency among those who throve on facts. The political and social revolution which swept the continent in 1848 and 1849, and found ominous echoes here, was everywhere, for the time, defeated. The discoveries of science in the third and fourth decades, resting on calculation and experiment, were investing it with the formidable prestige which it has never since lost; and both metaphysics and theology reeled perceptibly under the blows delivered in its name. The world exhibition of 1851 seemed to announce an age of settled prosperity, peace, and progress.

In literature the counterpart of these phenomena was the revolt from Romanticism, a movement, in its origins, of poetic liberation and discovery, which had rejuvenated poetry in Germany and Italy, and yet more signally in England and in France, but was now petering out in emotional incoherence, deified impulse, and irresponsible caprice.

In poetry the French Parnassians created the most brilliant poetry that has, since Milton, been built upon erudition and impeccable art. Their leader, Leconte de Lisle, in the preface of his *Poèmes Antiques* (1853), scornfully dismissed Romanticism as a second-hand, incoherent, and hybrid art, compounded of German mysticism, reverie, and Byron's stormy egoism. Sully Prudhomme addressed a sterner criticism to the shade of Alfred de Musset—the Oscar Wilde of the later Romantics who had never known the stress of thought, and had filled his poetry with light, love and laughter and voluptuous despairs; the new poets were to be no such gay triflers, but workers at a forge, beating the glowing metal into shape, and singing as they toiled. Carducci, too, derisively contrasts the "moonlight" of Romanticism—cold and infructuous beams, proper for Gothic ruins and graveyards—with the benignant and fertilizing sunshine he sought to restore; for him, too, the poet is no indolent caroller, and no gardener to grow fragant flowers for ladies, but a forge-worker with muscles of steel. Among us, as usual, the divergence is less sharply marked; but when Browning calls

Byron a "flat fish," and Arnold sees the poet of *Prometheus Unbound* appropriately pinnacled in the "intense inane," they are expressing a kindred repugnance to a poetry wanting in intellectual substance and in clear-cut form.

If we turn from the negations of the anti-romantic revolt to consider what it actually sought and achieved in poetry, we find that its positive ideals, too, without being derived from science, reflect the temper of a scientific time. Thus the supreme gift of all the greater poets of this group was a superb vision of beauty, and of beauty—*pace* Hogarth —there is no science. But their view of beauty was partly limited, partly fertilized and enriched, by the sources they discovered and the conditions they imposed, and both the discoveries and the limitations added something to the traditions and resources of poetry.

In the first place, they exploited the aesthetic values to be had by knowledge. They pursued erudition and built their poetry upon erudition, not in the didactic way of the Augustans, but as a mine of poetic material and suggestion. Far more truly than Wordsworth's this poetry could claim to be the impassioned expression which is in the face of science ; for Wordsworth's knowledge is a mystic insight wholly estranged from erudition ; his celandine, his White Doe, belong to no fauna or flora. When Leconte de Lisle, on the other hand, paints the albatross of the southern sea or the condor of the Andes, the eye of a passionate explorer and observer has gone to the making of their exotic sublimity. The strange regions of humanity, too, newly disclosed by comparative religion and mythology, he explores with cosmopolitan impartiality and imaginative penetration ; carving, as in marble, the tragedy of Hjalmar's heart and Angentyr's sword, of Cain's doom, and Erinnyes never, like those of Aeschylus, appeased. The Romantics had loved to play with exotic suggestions ; but the East of Hugo's *Orientales* or Moore's *Lalla Rookh* is merely a veneer ; the poet of *Qain* has heard the wild asses cry and seen the Syrian sun descend into the golden foam.

In the three commanding poets of our English mis-century, learning becomes no less evidently poetry's honoured and indispensable ally. Tennyson studies nature like a naturalist, not like a mystic, and finds felicities of phrase poised, as it were, upon delicate observation. Man, too, in Browning, loses the vague aureole of Shelleyan humanity, and becomes the Italian of the Renascence or the Arab doctor or the Ger-

man musician, all alive but in their habits as they lived, and fashioned in a brain fed, like no other, on the Book of the histories of Souls. Matthew Arnold more distinctively than either, and both for better and for worse, was the scholar-poet ; among other things he was, with Heredia and Carducci, a master of the poetry of critical portraiture, which focusses in a few lines (*Sophocles*, *Rahel*, *Heine*, *Obermann Once More*) the meaning of a great career or of a complex age.

Further, in the elaboration of their vision of beauty from these enlarged sources, Leconte de Lisle and his followers demanded an impeccable artistry. " A great poet," he said, " and a flawless artist are convertible terms." The Parnassian precision rested on the postulate that, with sufficient resources of vocabulary and phrase, everything can be adequately expressed, the analogue of the contemporary scientific conviction that, with sufficient resources of experiment and calculation, everything can be exhaustively explained. The pursuit of an objective calm, the repudiation of missionary ardour, of personal emotion, of the *cri du coeur*, of individual originality, involved the surrender of some of the glories of spontaneous song, but opened the way, for consummate artists such as these, to a profusion of undiscovered beauty, and to a peculiar grandeur not to be attained by the egoist. Leconte's temperament leads him to subjects which are already instinct with tragedy, and thus in his hands assume this grandeur without effort. The power of sheer style to ennoble is better seen in Sully Prudhomme's *tours de force* of philosophic poetry—when he unfolds his ideas upon " Justice " or " Happiness," for instance, under the form of a debate where masterly resources of phrase and image are compelled to the service of a rigorous logic ; or in the brief cameo-like pieces on " Memory," " Habit," " Forms," and similar unpromising abstractions, most nearly paralleled in English by the quatrains of Mr. William Watson. But the cameo comparison is still more aptly applied to the marvellously-chiselled sonnets of Heredia—monuments of a moment, as sculpture habitually is, but reaching out, as the finest sculpture does, to invisible horizons, and to the before and after—the old wooden guardian-god recalling his former career as a scarlet figure-head laughing at the laughter or fury of the waves ; Antony seeing the flying ships of Actium mirrored in the traitorous azure of Cleopatra's eyes.

Finally, the Parnassian poetry, like most contemporary science, was in varying degrees detached from and hostile to religion, and

found some of its most vibrating notes in contemplating its empty universe. Leconte de Lisle offers the Stoic the last mournful joy of "a heart seven-times steeped in the divine nothingness,"[1] or calls him to "that city of silence, the sepulchre of the vanished gods, the human heart, seat of dreams, where eternally ferments and perishes the illusory universe".[2] Here, too, Leopardi had anticipated him.

The supreme figure, not only among those who share in the anti-romantic reaction but among all the European poets of his time, was one who had in the heyday of youth led the Romantic vanguard—Victor Hugo. Leconte de Lisle never ceased to own him his master, and Hugo's genius had since his exile, in 1851, entered upon a phase in which a poetry such as the Parnassian sought—objective, reticent, impersonal, technically consummate—was at least one of the strings of his many-chorded lyre. Three magnificent works—the very crown and flower of Hugo's production—belong to this decade, 1850-60—the *Châtiments*, *Contemplations*, and *Légende des Siecles*. I said, advisedly, one string in his lyre. Objective reticence is certainly not the virtue of the terrible indictment of "Napoleon the Little". On the other hand, the greatest qualities of Parnassian poetry were exemplified in many splendid pieces of the other two works, together with a large benignity which their austere Stoicism rarely permits, and I shall take an illustration of the finest achievement of poetry in this whole first phase, the closing stanzas of his famous *Booz Endormi* in the *Légende*, whose beauty even translation cannot wholly disguise. Our decasyllable is substituted for the always exotic Alexandrine;[3] otherwise the original metre is retained.

[1] *Midi.* [2] *La Paix des Dieux.*

[3] For this and the other verse-translations the writer is responsible.

While thus he slumbered, Ruth, a Moabite,
Lay at the feet of Boaz, her breast bare,
Waiting, she knew not when, she knew not where,
The sudden mystery of wakening light.

Boaz knew not that there a woman lay,
Nor Ruth what God desired of her could tell;
Fresh rose the perfume of the asphodel,
And tender breathed the dusk on Galgala.

Nuptial, august, and solemn was the night,
Angels no doubt were passing on the wing,

II. Dream and Symbol.

The rise of French symbolism towards the end of the "seventies" was a symptom of a changed temper of thought and feeling traceable in some degree throughout civilized Europe. Roughly, it marked the passing of the confident and rather superficial security of the "fifties" into a vague unrest, a kind of troubled awe. As if existence altogether was a bigger, more mysterious, and intractable thing than was assumed, not so easily to be captured in the formulas of triumphant science, or mirrored and analysed by the most consummate literary art.

Of this changed outlook the growth of Symbolism is the most significant literary expression. It was not confined to France, or to poetry. We know how the drama of Ibsen became charged with ulterior meanings as the fiery iconoclast passed into the poet of insoluble and ineluctable doubt. But by the French symbolists it was pursued as a creed, as a religion. If the dominant poetry of the third quarter of the century reflected the prestige of science, the dominant poetry of the fourth reflected the idealistic reactions against it, and Villiers de l'Ile Adam, its founder, came forward proclaiming that "Science was bankrupt". And so it might well seem to him, the

> For now and then there floated glimmering
> As it might be an azure plume in flight.
>
> The low breathing of Boaz mingled there
> With the soft murmur of the mossy rills.
> It was the month when earth is debonnaire;
> The lilies were in flower upon the hills.
>
> Night compassed Boaz' slumber and Ruth's dreams,
> The sheep-bells vaguely tinkled far and near;
> Infinite love breathed from the starry sphere;
> 'Twas the still hour when lions seek the streams.
>
> Ur and Jerimedeth were all at rest;
> The stars enamelled the blue vault of sky;
> Amid those flowers of darkness in the west
> The crescent shone; and with half open eye.
>
> Ruth wondered, moveless, in her veils concealed,
> What heavenly reaper, when the day was past
> And harvest gathered in, had idly cast
> That golden sickle on the starry field.

visionary mystic, inhabiting, as he did, a world of strange beauty and invisible mystery which science could not unlock. The symbolists had not all an explicit philosophy ; but they were all aware of potencies in the world or in themselves which language cannot articulately express, and which are yet more vitally real than the "facts" which we can grasp and handle, and the "respectable" people whom we can measure and reckon with. Sometimes these potencies are vaguely mysterious, as impalpable spirit speaking only by hints and tokens ; sometimes they are felt as the pulsations of an intoxicating beauty, breaking forth in every flower, but which can only be possessed, not described ; sometimes they are moods of the soul, beyond analysis, and yet full of wonder and beauty, visions half created, half perceived. Experiences like these might have been described, as far as description would go, by brilliant artificers like the Parnassians. Verlaine and Mallarmé did not discover, but they applied with new daring, the fact that an experience may be communicated by words which, instead of representing it, suggest it by their colour, their cadences, their rhythm, their verbal echoes and inchoate phrases. All the traditional artistry of French poetic speech was condemned as both inadequate and insincere. "Take eloquence and wring her neck ! Nothing but music and the nuance,—all the rest is 'Literature,' mere writing—futile verbosity !" ; that was the famous watchword of Verlaine's creed.

The strength of symbolism lay in this demand for a complete sincerity of utterance. Its revolt against science was at the same time a vindication of truth, an effort to get nearer to reality both by shedding off the incrustations of habitual phrase and by calling into play the obscure affinities by which it can be magically evoked. In the subtleties of suggestion latent in sensations the symbolists were real discoverers. But the way had already been pointed in famous verses by Baudelaire :—

> Earth is a Temple, from whose pillared mazes
> Murmurs confused of living utterance rise ;
> Therein Man thro' a forest of symbols paces,
> That contemplate him with familiar eyes.
>
> As prolonged echoes, wandering on and on,
> At last in one far tenebrous depth unite,
> Impalpable as darkness, and as light,
> Scents, sounds, and colours meet in unison.

There Baudelaire had touched a chord that was to sound loud and long ; for what else than this thought of all the senses meeting in union inspired the music drama of Wagner ?—only one of his points of kinship, as we shall see, with symbolism.

In the earlier poetry of Maurice Maeterlinck, the inner life imposes a more jealous sway. The poet sits not before a transforming mirror, where the outer world is disguised, but in a closed chamber, where it is only dreamed of, and it fades into the incoherence and the irrelevance of a dream. But the chamber is of rare beauty, and in its hushed and perfumed twilight, dramas of the spirit are being silently and almost imperceptibly enacted, more tragic than the loud passion and violence of the stage. He has written an essay on Silence, silence that, like humility, holds for him a " treasure " beyond the reach of eloquence or of pride : for it is the dwelling of our true self, the spiritual core of us, " more profound and more boundless than the self of the passions or of pure reason ". And so there is less matter for drama in " a captain who conquers in battle or a husband who avenges his honour than in an old man, seated in his arm-chair waiting patiently with his lamp beside him, giving unconscious ear to all the eternal laws that reign about his house, interpreting without comprehending, the silence of door and window, and the quivering voice of the light ; submitting with bent head to the presence of his soul and his destiny ".

It is on this side that symbolism discloses its kinship with the Russian novel, with the mystic quietism of Tolstoy and the religion of self-sacrifice in Dostoievsky ; and its sharp antagonism to the Nietzschean gospel of dæmonic will and ruthless self-assertion, just then being preached in Germany. The two faiths were both alive and both responded to deep though diverse needs of the time ; but the immediate future, as we shall see, belonged to the second. They had their first resounding encounter when Nietzsche held up his once venerated master Wagner to scorn as the chief of " decadents " because he had turned from the superhuman heroism of Siegfried and the boundless passion of Tristram to glorify the mystic Catholicism of the Grail and the loveliness of the " pure fool " Parzifal.

Outside France symbolism found eager response among young poets, but rather as a literary than as an ethical doctrine. In Germany, Dehmel, the most powerful personality among her recent poets, began as a disciple of Verlaine ; in Italy, D'Annunzio wove esoteric symbols

into the texture of the more than Nietzschean supermanliness of his supermen and superwomen. More significant than these, however, was the symbolism of what we call the Celtic school of poets in Ireland. For here both their artistic impressionism and their mystic spirituality found a congenial soil.

For that, the French had only the Fauns of a literary neo-classicism. The passion for France was yet indeed to find a voice in poetry. But this was reserved for the more trumpet-tongued tones of the contemporary phase to which I now turn.

III. "Creative Evolution."

1. *Philosophic Analogies.*

Nothing is more symptomatic of the incipient twentieth century than the drawing together of currents of thoughts and action before remote or hostile. The Parnassians were an exclusive sect, the symbolists an eccentric and often disreputable coterie ; Claudel, D'Annunzio, Rudyard Kipling, speak home to throngs of everyday readers, are even national idols, and our Georgians contrive to be bought and read without the least surrender of what is most poetic in their poetry. And the analogies between philosophic thinking and poetic creation become peculiarly striking. Merely to name Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson, and Benedetto Croce is to become vividly aware of these analogies and of the common bent from which they spring. All three—whether with brilliant rhetoric, or iron logic, or a blend of both—use their thinking power to deride the theorizing intelligence in comparison with the creative intuition which culminates in poetry. To define the scope and province of this intuition is the purport of Croce's epoch-making Æsthetics, the basis and starting-point of his illuminating work, in Critica, as a literary critic. Bergson is the dominant figure in a line of French thinkers possessed with the conviction that life, a perpetual streaming forth of a creative energy, cannot be caught in the mechanism of law, adapted to merely physical phenomena, which at best merely gives us generalizations and lets the all-important particulars—the individual living thing—slip through the meshes ; whereas intuition—the eye fixed on the object—penetrates to the very heart of this individual living thing, and only drops out the skeleton framework of abstract laws. Philosophy, in these thinkers, was deeply imbued with

the analogies of artistic creation. "Beauty," said Ravaisson, "and especially beauty in the most divine and perfect form, contains the secret of the world". And Bergson's Creative Evolution embodied a conception of life and of the world profoundly congenial to the artistic and poetic temper of his time.

The idea that æsthetic experience gives a profounder clue in logical thought to the inner meaning of things was as old as Plato. It was one of the crowning thoughts of Kant; it deeply coloured the metaphysics of Schelling. And Nietzsche developed it with brilliant audacity when in his *Birth of Tragedy* (1872) he contrasted scornfully with the laboured and ineffectual constructions of the theoretic man, even of Socrates, the founder of philosophy, the radiant vision of the artist, the lucid clarity of Apollo. "His book gave the lie to a thousand years of orderly development," wrote the great Hellenist, Wilamowitz, Nietzsche's old schoolfellow, indignant at his rejection of the labours of scholastic reason. But it affirmed energetically the passion of his own time for immediate and first-hand experience.

And it did more. Beside and above Apollo, Nietzsche put Dionysus; beside vision and above it, rage. Of the union of these two Tragedy was born. And Nietzsche's glorification of this elemental creative force also responded to a wider movement in philosophy, here chiefly German. His Dionysiac rage is directly derived from that will in which Schopenhauer saw the master faculty of man and the hidden secret of the universe; and the beginning of Schopenhauer's fame, about 1850, coincides with a general rehabilitation of will as the dominant faculty in the soul and in the world, at the cost of the methodic orderly processes of understanding.

Nietsche and Bergson thus, with all their obvious and immense divergences, concurred in this respect, important from our present point of view, that their influence tended to transfer authority from the philosophic reason to those "irrational" elements of mind which reach their highest intensity in the vision and "rage" of the poet.

2. *The New Freedom.*

No reader of the poetry of our time can mistake the kinship of its prevailing temper with that which lies at the root of these philosophies. Without trying to fit its infinite variety to any finite formula, we may yet venture to find it in, as Mr. McDowall has found in our Georgian

poetry in particular, a characteristic union of grip and detachment ; of intense and eager grasp upon actuality as it breaks upon us in the successive moments of the stream of time, and yet an inner independence of it, a refusal to be obsessed by its sanctions and authorities, a tacit assumption that everything, by whatever length of tradition consecrated, must come before the bar of this new century to be judged by its new mind. "Youth is knocking at the door," as it is said of Hilda in the symbolical *Master Builder*, and doubtless in every generation the philistines or Victorians in possession have had occasion to make that remark. The difference in our time is rather that instead of having to work slowly up to a final dominance against the inertia of an established literary household, it has spontaneously, like Hilda Wrangel, taken possession of the home, finding criticism boundlessly eulogistic, the public inexhaustibly responsive, and philosophy interpreting the universe, as we have seen, precisely in sympathy with its own naive intuitions. No wonder that youth at twenty is writing its autobiography or having its biography written, and that at twenty-five it makes a show of laying down the pen, like Max Beerbohm, with the gesture of one rising sated from the feast of life : "I shall write no more".

The fact that youth finds itself thus at home in the world explains the difference in temper between the new poets of freedom and the old. The wild or wistful cry of Shelley for an ideal state emancipated from pain and death is as remote from their poetry as his spiritual anarchy from their politics ; they can dream and see visions, in Scott's phrase, "like any one going," but their feet are on the solid ground of actuality and citizenship, and the actuality comes into and colours their poetry no less than their vision. When Mr. Drinkwater looks out of "his town window" he dreams of the crocus flaming gold in far-off Warwick woods ; but he does not repudiate the drab inglorious street nor the tramway ringing and moaning over the cobbles, and they come into his verse. And I find it significant of the whole temper of the new poetry to ordinary life no less than that of ordinary men and women to the new poetry, that he has won a singularly intimate relationship with a great industrial community. He has not fared like his carver in stone. But then the eagles of his carving, though capable of rising, like Shelley's, to the sun, are the Cromwells and Lincolns who themselves brought the eagle's valour and undimmed eye into the stress and turmoil of affairs.

No doubt a fiercer note of revolt may be heard at times in the poetry of contemporary France, and that precisely where devotion to some parts of the heritage of the past is most impassioned. The iconoclastic scorn of youth's idealism for the effeteness of the "old hunkers," as Whitman called them, has rarely rung out more sharply than in the closing stanzas of Claudel's great Palm Sunday ode. All the pomp and splendour of bishops and cardinals is idle while victory yet is in suspense; that must be won by youth in arms:—

To-morrow the candles and the dais and the bishop with his clergy coped and gold embossed,
But to-day the shout like thunder of an equal, unofficered host
Who, led and kindled by the flag alone,
With one sole spirit swollen, and on one sole thought intent,
Are become one cry like the crash of walls shattered and gates rent:
"Hosanna unto David's Son!"

Needless the haughty steeds marble sculptured, or triumphal arches, or chariots and four,
Needless the flags and the caparisons, the moving pyramids and towers, and cars that thunder and roar,
'Tis but an ass whereon sits Christ;
For to make an end of the nightmare built by the pedants and the pharisees,
To get home to reality across the gulf of mendacities,
The first she-ass He saw sufficed!

Eternal youth is master, the hideous gang of old men is done with, we
Stand here like children, fanned by the breath of the things to be,
But Victory we will have to-day!
Afterwards the corn that like gold gives return, afterwards the gold that like corn is faithful and will bear,
The fruit we have henceforth only to gather, the land we have henceforth only to share,
But Victory we will have to-day!

In the same spirit Charles Péguy—like Claudel, be it noted, a student of Bergson at the Ecole Normale—found his ideal in the great story of the young girl of Domremy who saved France when all the pomp and wisdom of generals had broken down. And in our own poetry has not Mr. Bottomley re-written the Lear story, with the focus of power and interest transferred from the old king—left with not an inch of king in him—to a glorious young Artemis-Goneril?

But among our English Georgians this tense iconoclastic note is rare. Their detachment from what they repudiate is not fanatical or

ascetic : it is conveyed less in invective than in paradox and irony ; their temper is not that which flies to the wilderness and dresses in camel hair, but of mariners putting out to the unknown and bidding a not unfriendly good-bye at the shore. The temper of adventure is deeply ingrained in the new romance as in the old ; the very word adventure is saturated with a sentiment very congenial to us both for better and worse ; it quickens the hero in us and flatters the devil-may-care.

In its simplest form the temper of adventure has given us the profusion of pleasant verses which we know as the poetry of " vagabondage " and " the open road ". The point is too familiar to be dwelt on, and has been admirably illustrated and discussed by Mr. McDowall. George Borrow, prince of vagabonds, Stevenson, the " Ariel," with his " Vagabond-song " :—

> All I seek the heaven above,
> And the road below me,

and a few less vocal swallows, anticipated the more sustained flights and melodies of to-day, while Borrow's wonderful company of vagabond heroes and heroines is similarly premonitory of the alluring gipsies and circus-clowns of our Georgian poetry. Sometimes a traditional motive is creatively transformed ; as when Father Time, the solemn shadow with admonitory hour-glass, appears in Mr. Hodgson's poem as an old gipsy pitching his caravan " only a moment and off once again ".

Elsewhere a deeper note is sounded. It is not for nothing that Jeanne d'Arc is the saint of French Catholic democracy, or that Péguy, her poet, calls the Incarnation the " sublime adventure of God's Son ". That last adventure of the Dantesque Ulysses beyond the sunset thrills us to-day more than the Odyssean tale of his triumphant home-return, and D'Annunzio, greatly daring, takes it as the symbol of his own adventurous life. And Meredith, who so often profoundly voiced the spirit of the time in which only his ripe old age was passed, struck this note in his sublime verse on revolutionary France :—

> Soaring France
> That divinely shook the dead
> From living man ; that stretched ahead
> Her resolute forefinger straight
> And marched toward the gloomy gate
> Of Earth's Untried.

It is needless to dwell upon the affinity between this temper of adventure in poetry and the teaching of Bergson. That the link is not wholly fortuitous is shown by the interesting *Art Poétique* (1903) of his quondam pupil, Clausel, a little treatise pervaded by the idea of Creative-evolution.

It was natural in such a time to assume that any living art of poetry must itself be new, and, in fact, the years immediately before and after the turn of the century are crowded with announcements of "new" movements in art of every kind. Beside Claudel's *Art Poétique* we have in England the New Æstheticism of Grant Allen; in Germany the "new principle" in verse of Arno Holz. And here, again, the English innovators are distinguished by a good-humoured gaiety, if also by a slighter build of thought, from the French or Nietzschean "revaluers".

Like their predecessors in the earlier Romantic school, the new adventurers have notoriously experimented with poetic form. France, the home of the most rigid and meticulous metrical tradition, had already led the way in substituting for the strictly measured verse the more loosely organized harmonies of rhythmical prose, bound together, and, indeed, made recognizable as verse, in any sense, solely by the rhyme. With the Symbolosts' "free verse" was an attempt to capture finer modulations of music than the rigid frame of metre allowed. With their successors it had rather the value of a plastic medium in which every variety of matter and of mood could be faithfully expressed. But whether called verse or not, the vast, rushing modulations of rhythmic music in the great pieces of Claudel and others have a magnificence not to be denied. And the less explicitly poetic form permits matter which would jar on the poetic instinct if conveyed through a metrical form to be taken up as it were in this larger and looser stride.

In Germany, on the other hand, the rhythmic emancipation of Whitman was carried out, in the school of Arno Holz, with a revolutionary audacity beyond the example even of Claudel. Holz states with great clearness and trenchancy what he calls his "new principle of lyric"; one which "abandons all verbal music as an aim, and is borne solely by a rhythm made vital by the thought struggling through it to expression". Rhyme and strophe are given up, only rhythm remains.

Of our Georgian poetry, it must suffice to note that here, too, the

temper of adventure in form is rife. But it shows itself, characteristically, less in revolutionary innovation than in attempts to elicit new and strange effects from traditional measures by deploying to the uttermost, and in bold and extreme combinations, their traditional resources and variations, as in the blank verse of Mr. Abercrombie and Mr. Bottomley. This, and much beside in Georgian verse, has moods and moments of rare beauty. But, on the whole, verse-form is the region of poetic art in which Georgian poetry, as a whole, is least secure.

3. *The New Realism.*

We see, then, how deeply rooted this new freedom is in the passion for actuality ; not the dream, but the waking and alert experience throbs and pulses in it. We have now to look more closely into this and other aspects of it. Realism is a hard-worked term, but it may be taken to imply that the overflowing vitality of which poetry is one expression fastens with peculiar eagerness upon the visible and tangible world about us and seeks to convey that zest in words. Our poets not only do not scorn the earth to lose themselves in the sky ; they are positive friends of the matter-of-fact, and that not in spite of poetry, but for poetry's sake ; and Pegasus flies more freely because "things" are "in the saddle" along with the poet.

That this matter-of-factness is loved by poets, for poetry's sake, marks it off once for all from the photographic or "plain" realism of Crabbe. But it is also clearly distinct from the no less poetic realism of Wordsworth. Wordsworth's mind is conservative and traditional ; his inspiration is static ; he glorifies the primrose on the river brink by seeing its transience in the light of something far more deeply interfused which does not change nor pass away. Romance, in a high sense, lies about his greatest poetry. But it is a romance rooted in memory, not in hope—the "glory of the grass and splendour of the flower" which he had seen in childhood, and imaginatively re-created in maturity ; a romance which change, and especially the intrusion of industrial man, dispelled and destroyed. Whereas the romance of our new realism rests, in good part, precisely in the sense that the thing so vividly gripped is not, or need not be, permanent, may turn into something else, has only a tenancy, not a free-hold, in its conditions of space and time, a "toss-up" hold upon existence, as it were, full of the zest of adventurous insecurity. A pessimistic philosophy would

dissipate this romance, or strip it of all but the mournful poetry of doom. Mr. Chesterton glorifies the dust which may become a flower or a face, against the Reverend Peter Bell for whom dust is dust and no more, and Hamlet, who only remembers that it was once Cæsar. If our realism is buoyant, if it had at once the absorbed and the open mind, this is, in large part, in virtue of the temper which finds reality a perpetual creation. Every moment is precious and significant, for it comes with the burden and meaning of something that has never completely been before ; and goes by only to give place to another moment equally curious and new.

Moreover, in this incessantly created reality we are ourselves incessantly creative. That may seem to follow as a matter of course ; but it corresponds with the most radical of the distinctions between our realism and that of Wordsworth. When Mr. Wells tells us that his most comprehensive belief about the universe is that every part of it is ultimately important, he is not expressing a mystic pantheism which feels every part to be divine, but a generous pragmatism which holds that every part works. The idea of shaping and adapting will, of energy in industry, of mere routine practicality in office or household, is no longer tabooed, or shyly evaded ; not because of any theoretic exaltation of labour or consecration of the commonplace, but merely because to use things, to make them fulfil our purposes, to bring them into touch with our activities, itself throws a kind of halo over even very humble and homely members of the "divine democracy of things".

Rupert Brooke draws up a famous catalogue of the things of which he was a "great lover". He loved them, he says, simply as being. And no doubt, the simple sensations of colour, touch, or smell counted for much. But compare them with the things that Keats, a yet greater lover of sensations, loved. You feel in Brooke's list that he liked doing things as well as feasting his passive senses ; these "plates," "holes in the ground," "washen stones," the cold graveness of iron, and so forth. One detects in the list the Brooke who, as a boy, went about with a book of poems in one hand and a cricket-ball in the other, and whose left hand well knew what his right hand did. That takes us far from the dream of eternal beauty which a Greek urn or a nightingale's song brought to Keats, and the fatal word "forlorn," bringing back the light of common day, dispelled. The

old ethical and æsthetic canons are submerged in a passion for life which finds a good beyond good and evil, and a beauty born of ugliness more vital than beauty's self. "The worth of a drama is measured," said D'Annunzio, "by its fulness of life," and the formula explains, if it does not justify, those tropical gardens, rank with the gross blooms of "superhuman" eroticism and ferocity, to which he latterly gave that name. And we know how Maeterlinck has emerged from the mystic dreams and silences of his recluse chamber to unfold the dramatic pugnacities of birds and bees.

In the work of Verhaeren, the modern industrial city, with its spreading tentacles of devouring grime and squalor, its clanging factories, its teeming bazaars and warehouses, and all its thronging human population, is taken up triumphantly into poetry. Verhaeren is the poet of "tumultuous forces," whether they appear in the roar and clash of "that furnace we call existence," or in the heroic struggles of the Flemish nation for freedom. And he exhibits those surging forces in a style itself full of tumultuous power, Germanic rather than French in its violent and stormy splendour, and using the chartered licence of the French "free verse" itself with more emphasis than subtlety.

4. *The Cult of Force.*

In Verhaeren, indeed, we are conscious of passing into the presence of power more elemental and unrestrained than the civil refinement of our Georgians, at their wildest, allows us to suspect. The tragic and heroic history of his people, and their robust art, the art of Rembrandt, and of Teniers, vibrates in the Flemish poet. He has much of the temperament of Nietzsche, and if not evidently swayed by his ideas, or even aware of them, and with a generous faith in humanity which Nietzsche never knew, he thinks and imagines with a kindred joy in violence:

> I love man and the world, and I adore the force
> Which my force gives and takes from man and the universe.

And it is no considerable step from him to the poets who in this third phase of our period have unequivocally exulted in power and burnt incense or offered sacrifice before the altar of the strong man. The joy in creation which, we saw, gives its romance to so much of the realism of our time, now appears accentuated in the fiercer romance

of conflict and overthrow. Thanks largely to Nietzsche, this romance acquired the status of an authoritative philosophy—even, in his own country, that of an ethical orthodoxy.

In poetry, the contributory forces were still more subtly mingled, and the Nietzschean spirit, which blows where it listeth, often touched men wholly alien from Nietzsche in cast of genius and sometimes stoutly hostile to him. Several of the most illustrious were not Germans at all. Among the younger men who resist, while they betray, his spell is the most considerable lyric poet of the present generation in Germany. Richard Dehmel's vehement inspiration from the outset provoked comparison with Nietzsche, which he warmly resented.

He began, in fact, as a desciple of Verlaine, and we may detect in the unrestraint of his early erotics the example of the French poet's *fureur d'aimer*. But Dehmel's more strongly-built nature, and perhaps the downright vigour of the German language, broke through the tenuities of *la nuance*. It was not the subtle artistry of the Symbolists, but the ethical and intellectual force of the German character, which finally drew into a less anarchic channel the vehement energy of Dehmel. Nietzsche had imagined an ethic of superhuman will "beyond good and evil". The poet, replied Dehmel, had indeed to know the passion which transcends good and evil, but he had to know no less the good and evil themselves of the world in and by which common men live. And if he can cry with the egoism of lawless passion, in the *Erlösungen*, "I will fathom all pleasure to the deepest depths of thirst. . . . Resign not pleasure, it waters power,"—he can add, in the true spirit of Goethe and of the higher mind of Germany, "Yet since it also makes slack, turn it into the stuff of duty!"

If Nietzsche provoked into antagonism the sounder elements in Dehmel, he was largely responsible for destroying such sanity as the amazing genius of Gabriele D'Annunzio had ever possessed. He let loose all the Titan, and all consequently that was least Hellenic, in the fertile genius of the Italian; his wonderful instinct for beauty, his inexhaustible resources of style are employed in creating orgies of superhuman valour, lust, and cruelty like some of his later dramas, and hymns intoxicated with the passion for Power, like the splendid Ode in which the City of the Seven Hills is prophetically seen once

more the mistress of the world, loosing the knot of all the problems of humanity.

If D'Annunzio emulates Nietzsche, the two great militant poets of Catholic France would have scorned the comparison. Charles Péguy's brief career was shaped from his first entrance, poor and of peasant birth, at a Paris Lycee, to his heroic death in the field, September, 1914, by a daemonic force of character. His heroine, glorified in his first book, was Jeanne d'Arc, who attempted the impossible, and achieved it. In writing, his principle—shocking to French literary tradition—was to speak the brutal truth *brutalement*. As a poet he stood in the direct lienage of Corneille, whose *Polyeucte* he thought the greatest of the world's tragedies. As a man, he embodied with naive intensity the unsurpassed inborn heroism of the French race.

And if we look for corresponding phenomena at home, we find them surely in the masculine, militant, and, in the French sense, brutal poetry of W. E. Henley and Rudyard Kipling. If any modern poets have conceived life in terms of will, and penetrated their verse with that faith, it is the author of "I am the Captain of my Soul," the "Book of the Sword," and "London Voluntaries," friend and subject of the great kindred-minded sculptor Rodin, the poet over whose grave in St. Paul's George Wyndham found the right word when he said—marking him off from the great contemplative, listening poets of the past—"His music was not the still sad music of humanity; it was never still, rarely sad, always intrepid". And we know how Kipling, after sanctioning the mischievous superstition that "East and West can never meet," refuted it by producing his own "two strong men".

5. *The New Idealism.*

(1) *Nationality.*

We have now seen something of that power, at once of grip and of detachment with which the dominant poetry of this century faces what it thinks of as the adventure of experience, its plunge into the ever-moving and ever-changing stream of life. How then, it remains to ask, has it dealt with those ideal aspirations and beliefs which one may live intensely and ignore, which in one sense stand "above the battle," but for which men have lived and died?

What is the distinctive note of this new poetry of nationality? And for the moment I speak of the years before the War. May we not say that in it the ideal of country is saturated with that imaginative grip of reality in all its concrete energy and vivacity which I have called the new realism? The nation is no abstraction, whether it be called Britannia or Deutschland uber Alles. It is seen, and felt; seen in its cities as well as in its mountains, in the workers who have made it, as well as in the heroes who have defended it; in its roaring forges as well as in its idyllic woodlands and its tales of battles long ago; and all these not as separate strands in a woven pattern, but as waters of different origin and hue pouring along together in the same great stream.

Emile Verhaeren, six years before the invasion, had seen and felt his country, living body and living soul, with an intensity which made it seem unimaginable that she should be permanently subdued. He well called his book *Toute la Flandre*, for all Flanders is there. Old Flanders,—Artevelde and Charles Temeraire—whose soul was a forest of huge trees and dark thickets,

> A wilderness of crossing ways below,
> But eagles, over, soaring to the sun,—

Van Eyck and Rubens—"a thunder of colossal memories"; then the great cities, with their belfries and their foundries, and their warehouses and laboratories, their antique customs and modern ambitions; and the rivers, the homely familiar Lys, where the women wash the whitest of linen, and the mighty Scheldt, the Escaut, the "hero sombre, violent and magnificent," "savage and beautiful Escaut," whose companionship had moulded and made the poet, whose rhythms had begotten his music and his best ideas.

None of our English poets have rendered England in poetry with quite this supple and plastic power. Wordsworth wrote magnificently of England threatened with invasion, and magnificently of the Lake Country, Nature's beloved land. But the War sonnets and the lake and mountain poetry come from distinct strains in his genius, which our criticism may bring into relation, but our feeling insists on keeping apart. His Grasmere is a province of Nature—her favourite province—rather than of England; it is in the eye of Nature that the old Cumberland beggar lives and dies; England provides the obnoxious

workhouses to which these destitute vagrants were henceforth to be consigned. Is it not this that divides our modern local poetry from his? Mr. Belloc's Sussex is tenderly loved for itself; yet behind its great hills and its old-world harbours lies the half mystic presence of historic England. And in Edward Thomas's wonderful old Wiltshireman Lob, worthy, I think, to be named with the Cumberland Beggar,

> An old man's face, by life and weather cut
> And coloured,—rough, brown, sweet as any nut,—
> A land face, sea-blue eyed,—

you read the whole lineage of old, sterling English yeoman and woodlanders from whom Lob springs.

Sometimes this feeling is given in a single, intense, concentrated touch. When Rupert Brooke tells us of

> Some corner of a foreign field
> That is for ever England. There shall be
> In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
> A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
> Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,—

do we not feel that the solidarity of England with the English folk, and of the English folk with the English soil, is burnt into our imaginations in a new and distinctive way?

(2) *Democracy.*

The growth of democratic as of national feeling during the later century naturally produced a plentiful harvest of eloquent utterance in verse. With this, merely as such, I am not here concerned, even though it be as fine as the socialist songs of William Morris or Edward Carpenter. But the Catholic socialism of Charles Péguy—itself an original, and, for most of his contemporaries, a bewildering combination—struck at a no less original poetry, a poetry of solidarity. Péguy's socialism, like his Catholicism, was single-souled; he ignored that behind the one was a Party and behind the other a Church. It was his bitterest regret that a vast part of humanity was removed beyond the pale of fellowship by eternal damnation. It was his sublimest thought that the solidarity of man includes the damned. In his first vision of the Jeanne d'Arc mystery already referred to, he tells how Jesus crucified,

Saw not his Mother in tears at the Cross-foot
Below him, saw not Magdalene nor John,
But wept, dying, only for Judas' death.
The Saviour loved this Judas, and tho' utterly
He gave himself, he knew he could not save him.

It was the dogma of damnation which for long kept Péguy out of its fold, that barbarous mixture of life and death, he called it, which no man will accept who has won the spirit of collective humanity. But he revolted, not because he was tolerant of evil ; on the contrary, to damn sins was for him a weak and unsocial solution ; evil had not to be damned but to be fought down. Whether this vision of Christ weeping because he could not save Judas was unchristian, or more Christian than Christianity itself, we need not discuss here ; but I am sure that the spirit of Catholic democracy as transfigured in the mind of a great poet could not be more nobly rendered.

(3) *Catholicism.*

But Péguy's powerful personality set its own stamp upon whatever he believed, and though a close friend of Jaures, he was a Socialist who rejected almost all the ideas of the Socialist School. As little was his Catholicism to the mind of the Catholic authorities. And his Catholic poetry is sharply marked off from most of the poetry that burgeoned under the stimulus of the remarkable revival of Catholic ideas in twentieth century France. I say of Catholic ideas, for sceptical poets like Rêmy de Gourmont, played delicately with the symbols of Catholic worship, made " Litanies " of roses, and offered prayers to Jeanne d'Arc, walking dreamily in the procession of " Women saints of Paradise," to " fill our hearts with anger ". The Catholic adoration of Women-saints is one of the springs of modern poetry. At the close of the century of Wordsworth and Shelley, the tender Nature-worship of Francis of Assisi contributed not less to the recovered power of Catholic ideas in poetry, and this chiefly in the person of two poets in France and in England, both of whom played half-mystically with the symbolism of their names, Francis Thomson and Francis Jammes. The childlike naivete of St. Francis is more delicately reflected in Jammes, a Catholic W. H. Davies, who casts the idyllic light of Biblical Pastoral over modern farm life, and prays to " his friends, the Asses " to go with him to Paradise, " for there is no hell in the land of Bon Dieu ".

But the most powerful creative imagination to-day in the service of Catholic ideas is certainly Paul Claudel. At the altar of some great French Church at noon, where the poet, not long after the first decisive check of the invaders on the Marne, finds himself, alone, before the shrine of Marie. Here, too, his devotion finds a speech not borrowed from the devout or from their poetry :—

It is noon. I see the Church is open. I must enter.
Mother of Jesus Christ, I do not come to pray.

I have nothing to offer, and nothing to ask.
I came only, Mother, to gaze to you.

To gaze at you, to weep for happiness, to know
That I am your son and that you are there.

Nothing at all but for a moment when all is still,
Noon ! to be with you, Marie, in this place where you are.

To say nothing, to gaze upon your face,
To let the heart sing in its own speech.

There the nationalist passion of Claudel animates his Catholic religion, yet does not break through its confines. But sometimes the strain of suffering and ruin is too intense for Christian submission, and he takes his God to task truculently for not doing his part in the contract ; we are his partner in running the world, and see, he is asleep !

There is a great alliance, willy-nilly, between us henceforth—there is bread
that with no trembling hand
We have offered you, this wine that we have poured anew,
Our tears that you have gathered, our brothers that you share with us leaving the seed in the earth,
There is this living sacrifice of which we satisfy each day's demand,
This chalice we have drunk with you !

Yet the devout passion emerges again, with notes of piercing pathos :—

LE PRECIEUX SONG.

Lord, who hast promised us for one glass of water a boundless sea,
Who knows if thou art not thirsty too ?
And that this blood, which is all we have, will quench the thirst in Thee,
We know, for Thou hast told us so.
If, indeed, there is a spring in us, well, that is what is to be shown.
If this wine of ours is red,
If our blood has virtue, as Thou sayest, how can it be known
Otherwise than by being shed ?

Thus the great Catholic poet could sing under the pressure of the supreme national crisis of his country. Poetry at such times may become a great national instrument, a trumpet whence Milton or Wordsworth, Arnold or Whitman, blow soul-animating strains. The War of 1914 was for all the belligerent peoples far more than a stupendous military event. The psychical upheaval was most violent in the English-speaking peoples, where the military shock was least direct ; for here a nation of civilians embraced suddenly the new and amazing experience of battle. Here too, the imaginatively sensitive minds who interpret life through poetry, and most of all the youngest and freshest among them, themselves shared in the glories and the throes of the fight, as hardly one of the singers of our most stirring battle poetry had ever done before. How did this new and amazing experience react upon their poetry ? This, our final question, is perhaps the crucial one in considering the tendencies of recent European poetry.

In the first place, it enormously stimulated and quickened what was deepest and strongest in the energies and qualities which had been apparent in our latter-day poetry before. They had sought to clasp life, to live, not merely to contemplate, experience ; and here, indeed, was life, and death, and both to be embraced. Here was adventure, indeed, but one whose grimness made romance cheap, so that in this war poetry, for the first time in history, the romance and glamour of war, the pomp and circumstance of military convention, fall entirely away, and the bitterest scorn of these soldier-poets is bestowed, not on the enemy, but on those contemplators who disguised its realities with the camouflage of the pulpit and the editorial armchair. Turn, I will not say from Campbell or from Tennyson, but from Rudyard Kipling or Sir H. Newbolt to Siegfried Sassoon, and you feel that you have got away from a literary convention, whether conveyed in the manners of the barrack-room or of the public school, to something intolerably true, and which holds the poet in so fierce a grip that his song is a cry.

But if the War has brought our poets face to face with intense kinds of real experience, which they have fearlessly grasped and rendered, its grim obsession has not made them cynical, or clogged the wings of their faith and their hope. I will not ask how the war has affected the idealism of others, whether it has left the nationalism of our press or the religion of our pulpits purer or more gross than it found them. But of our poets, at least, that cannot be said. In Rupert

Brooks the inspirations of the call obliterated the last trace of dilettante youth's professions, and he encountered darkness like a bride, and greeted the unseen death not with "a cheer" as a peril to be faced, but as a great consummation, the supreme safety. How his poetry would have reacted to the actual experience of war we can only guess. But in others, his friends and comrades, the fierce immersion in the welter of ruin and pain and filth and horror and death brought only a more superb faith in the power of man's soul to rise above the hideous obsession of his own devilries, to retain the vision of beauty through the riot of foul things, of love through the tumult of hatreds, of life through the infinity of death. True this was not a new power : poetry to be poetry must always in some measure possess it. What was individual to the poets was that this power of mastering actually went along in them with the fierce and eager immersion in it ; the thrill of breathing the

> Calm and serene air
> Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
> Which men call Earth,

with the thrill of seeing and painting in all its lurid colouring the volcanic chaos of this "stir and smoke" itself. Thus the same Siegfried Sassoon who renders with so much close analytic psychology the moods that cross and fluctuate in the dying hospital patient, or the haunted fugitive, as he flounders among mire and stumps, to feel at last the strangling clasp of death, can as little as the visionary Shelley overcome the insurgent sense that these dead are for us yet alive, made one with Nature.

He visits the deserted home of his dead friend :—

> THE LAST MEETING.
>
> Ah, but there was no need to call his name,
> He was beside me now, as swift as light . . .
> For now, he said, my spirit has more eyes
> Than heaven has stars, and they are lit by love.
> My body is the magic of the world,
> And dark and sunset flame with my spilt blood.

Further, this war poetry, while reflecting military things with a veracity hardly known before, is yet rarely militant. We must not look for explicit pacifist of international ideas ; but as little do we find jingo patriotism or hymns of hate. The author of the German hymn of hate was a much better poet than anyone who tried an English

hymn in the same key, and the English poets who could have equalled its form were above its spirit. Edith Cavell's dying words "Patriotism is not enough" cannot perhaps be paralleled in their poems but they are continually suggested. They do not say, in the phrase of the old cavalier poet, We should love England less if we loved not something else more, or that something is wanting in our love for our country if we wrong humanity in its name. But the spirit which is embodied in these phrases breathes through them; heroism matters more to them than victory, and they know that death and sorrow and the love of kindred have no fatherland. They "stand above the battle" as well as share in it, and they share in it without ceasing to stand above it.

Finally, the poet himself glories in his act; he knows that he can beat into music even the crashing discords that fill his ears; he knows too that he has a music of his own which they cannot subdue or debase:

> I keep such music in my brain
> No din this side of death can quell;
> Glory exalting over pain,
> And beauty garlanded in hell.

To have found and kept and interwoven these two musics—a language of unflinching veracity and one of equally unflinching hope and faith—is the achievement of our war-poetry. May we not say that the possession of these two musics, of these two moods, springing as they do from the blended grip and idealism of English character, warrants hope for the future of English poetry? For it is rooted in the greatest and the most English of the ways of poetic experience which have gone to the making of our poetic literature—the way, ultimately, of Shakespeare and of Wordsworth. Beauty abounds in our later poets, but it is a beauty that flashes in broken lights, not the full-orbed radiance of a masterpiece. To enlarge the grasp of poetry over the field of reality, to larger range, is not at once to find consummate expression for what is apprehended. The flawless perfection of the Parnassians—of Heredia's sonnets—is nowhere approached in the less aristocratically exclusive poetry of to-day. But the future, in poetry also, is with the spirit which founds the aristocracy of noble art not upon exclusion, negations, and routine, but upon imaginative discovery and catholic openness of mind.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF PAPYROLOGY.[1]

By B. P. GRENFELL, D.Litt., F.B.A., Professor of Papyrology in the University of Oxford.

THE conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. brought the country of the Pharaohs out of its comparative isolation into the main stream of European culture, which through Greece and Rome extends to our own day. Under the Ptolemies the most brilliant of the Hellenistic kingdoms, with Alexandria as the literary and scientific centre of the civilized world, under the Romans the richest and most important province of the Empire, under the earlier Byzantine Emperors foremost in the defence of Trinitarian Christianity and the foundation of Monasticism, Egypt had great influence on the history of the West for nearly a thousand years, until with the invasion of the Arabs in 640 the country was again isolated, not to return to the main stream until 1870, when once more, as the Khedive Ismail remarked at the opening of the Suez Canal, Egypt became part of Europe.

The Ptolemies made Greek the official language, and under the Romans, who conquered Egypt in 30 B.C., but employed Latin only in the highest official and in military circles, a knowledge of Greek became general, though ancient Egyptian continued to be spoken down to the third century, when in a Græcised form it became the Coptic language, which lasted till the sixteenth century. Hence the great majority of papyri from Egypt, written between 300 B.C. and the middle of the seventh century, are in Greek, and though there are many written in demotic and Coptic, and a few in Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, and Pehlevi, papyrology has come to mean practically the study of Greek papyri, including various substitutes for papyrus as writing-material, such as ostraca (bits of broken pottery), wooden or wax tablets, and after the second century vellum. Like epigraphy,

[1] A revised edition of a lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library, 10 December, 1919.

papyrology is an aid to the study of Greek and Roman antiquity in its various departments, not an independent branch of inquiry. From our point of view it is narrower than epigraphy, because the evidence is practically all derived from one country. Apart from Egypt the only place where papyri have been discovered by excavation is Herculaneum, where a library of works on Epicurean philosophy, which had been burnt by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, owes its partial survival to its calcined condition. But from another point of view papyrology is much wider than epigraphy, owing to the far greater range of the contents of papyri, and especially the presence of many Greek and some Latin literary pieces, which together form about one tenth of the whole amount. A good survey of the contribution of Greek papyri to classical literature through the recovery of lost works has been recently given by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1919, where in another article I have sketched the value of Greek papyri of extant authors for textual criticism.

The history of papyrus discoveries in Egypt dates from 1778 ; but it was not until a hundred years later that papyri began to reach Europe in considerable quantities through dealers in antiquities, and the systematic search for Greek papyri dates from 1895, when the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society) began excavations with that object in view. For some years Professor Hunt and I had the field to ourselves ; then our example was followed by the French, Germans, and Italians. Some papyri of the Ptolemaic period, and nearly all papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods come either from the rubbish-mounds of certain large towns in middle Egypt, especially Arsinoë, Hermopolis, and Oxyrhynchus, where Hunt and I made our chief finds, or else from houses in Fayûm villages, which, owing to defective irrigation, became stranded in the desert, and remained outside the area of cultivation until a few years ago. Ptolemaic papyri are chiefly found in mummy-cartonnage, where papyrus in the third and second centuries B.C. was frequently, and in the first century B.C. occasionally, used as a substitute for cloth, but the Fayûm papyri in the later Ptolemaic period were sometimes used also in the wrappings of crocodiles, the sacred animals of that district. In rare instances literary papyri, both classical and Christian, have been discovered in tombs, buried beside their owners.

In the competition among various nations during the last thirty

years for obtaining papyri, the lion's share of the prizes has fallen to Great Britain. The enterprise of Sir E. A. Wallis Budge secured for the British Museum many of the best-preserved new classical texts, including the treatise of Aristotle *On the Athenian Constitution*, the *Odes* of Bacchylides, and the *Mimes* of Herondas, all edited by Sir F. G. Kenyon. Some minor literary fragments in the British Museum remain for the present unpublished. Of non-literary documents from various sites five stately volumes have been produced by Sir F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, the first three containing mainly Ptolemaic or Roman papyri, the last two Byzantine ; and there is material for two more volumes, which are in preparation.

The Bodleian Library possesses in the *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which I edited in conjunction with the late Sir John Mahaffy in 1896, the longest and most important non-literary document of the early Ptolemaic period, and both the Bodleian and British Museums have a number of the best papyri from our excavations at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere, which after publication are distributed among various museums and libraries, chiefly in England and America. The unpublished papyri in the Bodleian are of slight importance ; but there is a very large collection of ostraca, recently presented by Dr. A. H. Sayce, which are being edited by a promising student of papyrology at Queen's College, J. G. Tait. A corpus of all the ostraca known up to 1900, over 1600 in number, was published in that year by U. Wilcken, and some have been published since by J. G. Milne and others ; but the Bodleian has about 2500 new ones. A re-edition of the various lyric fragments on papyrus is being prepared for the *Oxford Classical Texts* series by a sub-librarian of the Bodleian, E. Lobel.

Much the largest collection of unpublished papyri in this or any other country is in the muniment room of Queen's College, Oxford, where are reposing about eighty packing-cases full of papyri from our excavations, as yet unrolled and unexamined. The Oxyrhynchus series, which includes the *Sayings of Jesus* and fragments of various uncanonical gospels, lost poems of Sappho, Alcæus, and Pindar, considerable portions of the *Ichneutæ* of Sophocles, and the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, the so-called *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, a historical work probably composed by Ephorus, dealing with events in 396-5 B.C., and a new Epitome of several of the lost books of

Livy, has now reached Part xiv., which appeared in April, 1920. This consists of non-literary documents, mainly of the third century, private letters, contracts and accounts predominating.

No. 1631, a contract for labour in a vineyard and lease of a fruit-farm in 280, gives an unusually elaborate list of operations, which are arranged mainly in chronological order from 28 September onwards, and includes a number of new technical terms requiring further elucidation from a professional vine-grower. It runs as follows: "To Aurelius Serenus son of Agathinus and Taposirias, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from the Aurelii Ctistus son of Rufus and Dionysia, and his son Ptolemy, whose mother is Tauris, both of Oxyrhynchus, and Peloïus son of Heracleüs and Tapontheus, from the village of Tanaïs. We voluntarily undertake to lease for one year more from 28 September of the present year all the vine-tending operations in the vineyard owned by you in the area of the village of Tanaïs and the adjoining reed-plantation, whatever be the extent of each, a half share being assigned to us, the party of Aur. Ctistus, and the remaining half to me, Peloïus; which operations are, concerning the vineyard, plucking of reeds, collection and transport of them, proper cutting of wood, making into bundles, pruning (?), transport of leaves and throwing them outside the mud walls, planting as many vine-stems as are necessary, digging, hoeing round the vines, and surrounding them with trenches, you, the landlord, being responsible for the arrangement of the reeds, and we for tendering you assistance in this, we being responsible for the remaining operations after those mentioned above, consisting of breaking up the ground, picking off shoots, keeping the vines well tended, disposition of them, removal (?) of shoots, needful thinnings of foliage; and concerning the reed-plantations, digging up both reed-plantations, watering, and continual weeding; and further we agree to superintend together with you in the vineyard and the reed-plantation the asses which bring earth, in order that the earth may be thrown in the proper places; and we will perform the testing of the jars employed for the wine, and will put these, when they have been filled with wine, in the open-air shed, and oil them, move them, and strain the wine from one jar into another, and watch over them as long as they are stored in the open-air shed, the pay for all the aforesaid operations being 4500 drachmæ of silver, 10 bushels of wheat, and 4 jars of wine at the vat, which payments we are to receive in

instalments according to the progress of the operations. And we likewise undertake to lease for one year the produce of the date-palms and all the fruit-trees which are in the old vineyard, for which we will pay as a special rent 1½ bushels of fresh dates, 1½ bushels of pressed dates, 1½ bushels of walnut-dates, ½ bushel of black olives, 500 selected peaches, 15 citrons, 400 summer figs before the inundation, 500 winter figs, 4 white fat melons. Moreover we will, in consideration of the aforesaid wages, plough the adjoining fruit-garden on the south of the vineyard, and will do the irrigation, weeding, and all the other operations required from season to season, only the arrangement of reeds in it and the strewing of earth being done by you, the landlord, the rent being secured against all risks," etc.

The following letter (No. 1666) affords an interesting sidelight on Roman recruiting methods in the third century: "Pausanias to his brother Heraclides, greeting. I think that my brother Sarapammon has told you the reason why I went down to Alexandria, and I have previously written to you about little Pausanias becoming a soldier of a legion. Since however he no longer wished to join a legion but a squadron of cavalry, on learning this I was obliged to go down to him, although I did not want to. So after many entreaties from his mother and sister to transfer him to Coptos I went down to Alexandria, and employed many methods until he was transferred to the squadron at Coptos. I desired then to pay you a visit on the upward voyage, but we were limited by the furlough granted to the boy by the most illustrious praefect, and for this reason I was unable to visit you. If the gods will, I will therefore try to come to you for the feast of Amesysia. Please, brother, see to the deed of mortgage, that it is prepared in the customary way. I urge you, brother, to write to me about your safety, for I heard at Antinoöpolis that there had been plague in your neighbourhood. Do not neglect this, that I may rest more assured about you. Many salutations to my lady mother and my sister and our children, whom the evil eye shall not harm. Pausanias salutes you. I pray for the health of you and all your household."

The following letter, also of the third century (No. 1676), is the most sentimental that has yet appeared among published papyri: "Flavius Herculanus to the sweetest and most honoured Aplonarion, very many greetings. I rejoiced greatly on receiving your letter, which

was given me by the cutler; I have not however received the one which you say you sent me by Plato, the dancer's son. But I was very much grieved that you did not come for my boy's birthday, both you and your husband, for you would have been able to have many days' enjoyment with him. But you doubtless had better things to do; that was why you neglected us. I wish you to be happy always, as I wish it for myself; but yet I am grieved that you are away from me. If you are not unhappy away from me, I rejoice for your happiness; but still I am vexed at not seeing you. Do what suits you; for when you wish to see us always, we shall receive you with the greatest pleasure. You will therefore do well to come to us in August, in order that we may really see you. Salute your mother and father and Callias. My son salutes you and his mother and Dionysius my fellow-worker, who serves me at the stable. Salute all your friends. I pray for your health." The letter is addressed on the back "Deliver to Aplonarion from her patron Herculanus. From Flavius Herculanus."

Hunt and I are now occupied with Parts xv. and xvi. Part xv., which is due to appear in 1921, will be devoted entirely to literary papyri, while Part xvi., destined for 1922, will consist of non-literary documents of the Byzantine period, which, so far as Oxyrhynchus is concerned, has hitherto been rather neglected by us. The lyric section in Part xv. includes some new fragments of Sappho, Alcæus, Pindar, and an author (Ibycus ?) who at the end of a mythological poem concerning the Trojan War grandiloquently compares the fame of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to his own. All these are in a very imperfect condition, as are some elegiacs by Callimachus, which mention Berenice but seem to belong to the epinician poem to Sosibius. In better preservation are some hexameters describing Egyptian trees, and a series of epigrams of four lines each, the poems beginning with successive letters of the alphabet. The metre is a variation of the hexameter, with an iambus in the last foot. They were apparently meant to be sung to the accompaniment of the flute, like No. 15 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, a small fragment of the same or of a similar series. In one poem life is compared to a loan, which is repaid with reluctance; another deprecates troubling oneself about ultimate problems instead of the purchase of perfume and garlands; a third is a request to place the poet's flute on his tomb.

Among fragments of lost prose works are some of a historian of Alexander, describing the victory over the Persians at Issus in 333 B.C. The account is shorter than those of Diodorus and Arrian, but adds some new details : there is no obvious clue to the authorship. There are also parts of a series of lives of famous literary characters, Sappho, Simonides, Æsop, Thucydides, Lysias, Demosthenes, and Æschines, and some interesting glossaries of rare words with references to passages in lost works. Among extant works Sophocles is represented by some much broken fragments of the *Trachiniae*, of the third century, and Theocritus by part of *Idyl* 22, of the first century, this being the earliest papyrus of that poet. There are also two papyri of Plato (*Republic* and *Phaedo*), two of Isocrates (*Nicocles* and *Demonicus*), and two of Demosthenes, one of which has portions of five speeches. A Latin juristic papyrus, giving a summary list of edicts in part of Book I of the Codex Justinianus, supplies some details which are missing in the MSS. In the theological section there are two very early fragments (third century) of St. John's Gospel, another fragment of that very popular work in Egypt, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, and one of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which has not previously been represented in Egyptian finds. A special interest attaches to a leaf of a codex containing the Greek original of the *Apology* of Aristides. That work, which is one of the earliest Christian apologies, is known primarily from a Syriac version discovered at Mount Sinai by Dr. Rendel Harris ; but the Greek text in a somewhat modified form is incorporated in a much later Christian work, the story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. A short liturgical papyrus, of the nature of a choir-slip, written on the back of a third century document, and itself not later than 300, is remarkable not only on account of its early date, but from the presence of musical notation, which resembles, but is not identical with, that found in a somewhat earlier papyrus at Vienna in connexion with a few lines of Euripides' *Orestes*. This constitutes the oldest specimen of Church music. In all there are fifty literary pieces in Part xv., some of them (e.g. the Callimachus, epigrams, and choir-slip with musical notation) having been obtained by me last winter in Egypt together with other Oxyrhynchus papyri, which are now in the British Museum or America.

Part xvi. will consist of fifth to seventh century documents. In that

period the administration of Egypt, as of other parts of the Byzantine Empire, tended to pass out of the hands of a highly-centralized hierarchy of officials into those of the large landowners, who became semi-independent, thus leading up to the feudal system of the Middle Ages. At Oxyrhynchus the leading family was that of the Apions, one member of which attained the consulship in 539, and in 1897 we were fortunate enough to discover the remains of an archive consisting mainly of sixth century documents connected with that family. For two days the stream of papyri became such a torrent that there were hardly enough baskets in the village to carry away all the rolls. The choicest of these Apion papyri were retained by the Cairo Museum (the Egyptian Government is entitled to half the finds of an excavator, but since 1899 has allowed us to bring all our papyri to England and divide them after publication). One instalment of our Byzantine papyri at Cairo was edited in Part i. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, and in January last, while Professor Hunt was working upon the literary papyri for Part xv., I went to Cairo for two and a half months to prepare the remainder of the Oxyrhynchus texts there for publication with a number of contemporaneous papyri from the excavations of later seasons. In this volume H. I. Bell is collaborating with us, and is writing most of the commentary.

In 1905-6 we made our largest find of literary papyri, consisting of the debris of three libraries of classical works. The principal literary papyri in Parts v.-xv. belong to the first two of these finds, and with Part xv. the publication of them, apart from very small fragments, will be nearing completion. We hope, in 1921, to unroll and examine the third of these large finds of literary texts. Concerning its precise nature and importance we are still in the dark, for the papyri were found at a considerable depth, slightly damp, and not readily decipherable; but some interesting discoveries may be expected. There are also many literary pieces in the other unopened boxes from Oxyrhynchus, but Part xv. probably carries us more than half-way through the publication of the total finds of literary texts from that site. With regard to non-literary papyri, however, we are not yet nearly half-way through the publication, and, in fact, with the exception of the 1897 season's finds, have made comparatively little progress in unrolling them, so that the Oxyrhynchus series is likely to exceed thirty volumes.

While very few of the Oxyrhynchus papyri are earlier than A.D. 1, our finds of papyri in the Fayûm were to a large extent of the Ptolemaic period. The results of the first two seasons, which were not particularly successful, were issued in *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*. The third season, when we were excavating at Tebtunis for the University of California, was much the most productive. Two parts of the *Tebtunis Papyri*, containing those from crocodile-mummies (chief of which is a series of forty-six decrees of Ptolemy Euergetes II), and the town ruins respectively, have been published. With regard to Part iii., containing third and second century B.C. papyri from mummy-cartonnage, the long and difficult process of extricating the individual papyri was undertaken for the most part by J. G. Smyly, and the decipherment begun by him and continued by E. Lobel was nearly completed by myself in 1916-17. Professor M. Rostovtseff, who came to Oxford in 1918, has devoted much time to writing a commentary upon the most important of the 500 texts in this Part—a long letter from the dioecetes or finance-minister at Alexandria towards the end of the third century B.C. to a newly appointed official in charge of the revenues of the Fayûm, giving elaborate directions concerning his multifarious duties and affording a comprehensive picture of the working of the Ptolemaic administration of Egypt. Part iii., which on account of its size will be divided into two volumes, may be expected to appear in 1922-3.

The results of our fourth and fifth seasons' excavations in the Fayûm have hardly been examined. They consist mainly of a large quantity of Greek and demotic third and second century B.C. papyrus-cartonnage, and a collection of first century B.C. papyri (chiefly demotic, but with some Greek) from crocodile-mummies. Besides Oxyrhynchus and the Fayûm, we excavated at Hibeh, situated between the two, where we found much early Ptolemaic cartonnage, about half of which has not yet been opened. When we gave up excavating in 1907, our work was continued until the war by J. de M. Johnson, who excavated various Ptolemaic cemeteries between the Fayûm and Minia with rather bad luck, the papyrus-cartonnage having been mostly spoiled by damp; but in the town ruins of Antinoöpolis he found in 1914 a long papyrus containing several of the later idylls of Theocritus, which he is engaged in editing.

The best collection of Ptolemaic papyri from cartonnage which has

yet been published is the Petrie papyri, now mostly in Trinity College, Dublin, edited by the late Sir John Mahaffy, and more completely by J. G. Smyly. These were discovered in 1890 at Gurob in the Fayûm by Professor Flinders Petrie. In 1895 I excavated there for a couple of weeks, and found a few more bits of cartonnage, which Smyly has recently opened. He is now about to publish about thirty new texts in the *Cunningham Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy*. They include a remarkable fragment of an Orphic ritual of the third century B.C., and by a curious chance a fair copy of the important, but very difficult juristic papyrus, P. Petrie, iii. 23 (*g*).

In the John Rylands Library at Manchester is a large collection of papyri, mostly bought by Hunt and me in Egypt, of which two volumes, comprising literary texts and documents prior to A.D. 284, have been published by Hunt, Johnson, and V. Martin. There are numerous papyri of the Byzantine period which remain to be edited. Recently the Manchester collection has been increased by some papyri acquired in Egypt partly by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1917, and partly by me in 1920. In the former group are a fragment of (apparently) an early uncanonical gospel, mentioning St. Andrew, and several third century B.C. papyri belonging to the Zeno find (cf. p. 154), while the latter group includes a number of literary fragments, about thirty Ptolemaic or Augustan papyri from the Fayûm, and several Latin papyri. Some pieces of a lost historical work dealing with events in 339 B.C. from a papyrus which is itself of the third century B.C. (Theopompus, Φιλιππικά), are of considerable interest, but we have not yet had time to work at these newest texts.

Apart from London, Oxford, Manchester, and Dublin, most of the papyri in British public libraries or museums consist of published specimens from our excavations. A small collection of very fragmentary texts at Aberdeen is being edited by J. G. Tait. There are but few papyri in private ownership in this country. A collection of about 200 papyri, purchased by us in Egypt for the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, and published in two volumes, of which the first contains the unique Greek original of part of an interesting Jewish apocryphal work, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, was subsequently acquired for America by Mr. Pierpoint Morgan. A small group of twenty-one papyri recently acquired by Mr. E. P. Warren, among which is a gnostic magical text of some interest, will shortly be published by us.

Next in importance to the British collections of papyri come the German, which were obtained mainly by purchase, partly by excavations at Elephantine, which produced the earliest dated Greek papyrus, a marriage contract of 311 B.C., at Busiris in the Heracleopolite nome, where many valuable documents of the Augustan age, which had been written at Alexandria, were discovered in mummy-cartonnage, and at Hermopolis. The principal collection is at Berlin, where the authorities of the Museum have issued the *Persae* of Timotheus, a celebrated fourth century B.C. lyric poem on the Battle of Salamis, of which an incomplete copy was found buried in a tomb, and six parts of the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, including three very long and well preserved literary papyri, two of the nature of commentaries, the third an ethical treatise by Hierocles, a Stoic contemporary of Epictetus. The first three volumes of the *Berliner Griechische Urkunden* constitute the chief publication of Fayum papyri of the Roman period, while the fourth volume is mainly devoted to the Alexandrian papyri from Busiris. In 1919 the Berlin Museum began the publication of Vol. V with a most important Fayûm papyrus written about A.D. 150, which contains in abstract the official rules (*Gnomon*) laid down by Augustus, and modified in later reigns, for guiding one of the leading officials, the Idios Logos, in the performance of his duties. In over 100 regulations preserved almost entire the principal subjects dealt with are wills and inheritances, with especial reference to the claims of the Imperial Treasury, marriage, registration, and the position of priests. For the Roman administration of Egypt, and, above all, for the relation to each other of the different classes of the population, Roman and Alexandrian citizens, Greeks, Egyptians, freedmen, and slaves, this document is of primary importance. The text and translation alone (by W. Schubart) have so far been issued ; but historical and juristic commentaries by Schubart and A. Sickel are in preparation.

There is also at Berlin a minor collection of papyri and ostraca edited in 1915 by P. M. Meyer, and there are important partly-edited collections at Leipzig (largely fourth century papyri ; ed. L. Mitteis) ; Giessen (edd. E. Kornemann and P. M. Meyer), where is a copy of the celebrated decree of the Emperor Caracalla in 215 conferring Roman citizenship upon the provincials ; Heidelberg (edd. A. Deissmann and G. A. Gerhard), which has a long papyrus of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint ; Halle (ed. Graeca Halensis), which possesses one

of the most important early Ptolemaic papyri, containing extracts from the laws of Alexandria; Hamburg (ed. P. M. Meyer); Munich (edd. U. Wilcken and A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger); Strassburg (edd. F. Preisigke, who is now engaged with Part ii.); Freiburg, and Bremen. According to a recent official estimate[1] about half the total of Greek papyri in Germany has yet to be published; but from an article by U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad.*, 1918), publishing a number of literary fragments, including one of Tyrtæus, it appears that not much more is to be expected in the way of new classical texts.

The Austrian collection at Vienna was the first very large collection of papyri to be made in Europe; but unfortunately the Archduke Rainer, who obtained it, made no adequate provision for its publication, and the editing of the Greek texts has been confined to a single scholar, C. Wessely, who, in spite of great industry, has hardly been able to cope with the mass of both Greek aud Coptic material. One volume of a Corpus, containing chiefly contracts of the Roman period, appeared in 1895; since then only certain classes of the Greek papyri, those dealing with municipal affairs at Hermopolis and topography and Byzantine tax-receipts, have been published in full. The Austrian collection is poor in literary texts, except Biblical fragments, and has no Ptolemaic papyri. A quantity of Ptolemaic papyrus-cartonnage, discovered in 1908 at Gamhûd (in the Heracleopolite nome) by a young Polish archæologist, T. Smolenski, who died shortly afterwards, went to Budapest, but has not since been heard of.

In France the Louvre has not in recent years taken part in the competition for Greek papyri, though a papyrus of the first century B.C. containing the oration of Hyperides *Against Athenogenes* was published by E. Revillout in 1892. A volume, consisting chiefly of late Ptolemaic contracts from Acoris, which were obtained by T. Reinach, was issued by him in 1903. The headquarters of French papyrology has hitherto been at Lille, where is a large collection of early Ptolemaic papyri from the Fayûm, discovered in 1900-3 by P. Jouguet, who has been assisted by J. Lesquier and P. Collart in the publication of them. This collection, which has fortunately not been injured by the war, is likely to be removed soon to Paris, Jouguet

[1] W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde.*

having been transferred to the Sorbonne. Another volume of the publication is in progress.

Italy, which has the credit of having started Graeco-Egyptian papyrology with Amadeo Peyron, and has in G. Lumbroso the *doyen* of papyrologists, who, fifty years after the issue of his well-known *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Egypte sous les Lagides*, is engaged in a comprehensive dictionary of everything bearing upon ancient Alexandria, continues to show an active interest in the subject. At Naples the difficult process of unrolling and deciphering the burnt papyri from Herculaneum has been resumed with much success. At Florence the two leading Italian Hellenists, D. Comparetti and G. Vitelli, have obtained and edited a large collection of documents, including a group of about 250 papyri concerning a certain Heroninus, manager of a large estate in the Fayûm in the middle of the third century. A society called the *Societá Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri* was formed in 1909, which, partly from excavations at Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, partly by purchases, is issuing under the direction of Vitelli a series of which the sixth volume is in the press. Parts i.-iii. contain many literary fragments, while Parts iv. and v. are mainly devoted to the Florentine section of a large find of third century B.C. papyri made about 1912 by natives in a Fayûm village (Philadelphia). These all concern a certain Zeno, a subordinate of the chief finance minister, and, unlike papyri obtained from mummy-cartonnage, are mostly in good condition. Many of them are official letters, and add much to our knowledge of the Ptolemaic administration in Palestine and Asia Minor as well as in Egypt. At Milan there has been founded recently a school of papyrology, directed by A. Calderini, which has issued three volumes of *Studi* (1917-20) but has not yet had much opportunity of editing new texts. A noteworthy feature of both the Florentine and the Milanese schools is the considerable share in editing and commenting upon the papyri which has been taken by ladies. It is to be hoped that the excellent example set by Medea Norsa and Teresa Lodi will be followed by some of the ladies in this country.

Switzerland has one good collection of papyri at Geneva, of which a volume of documents and several valuable literary fragments have been edited by J. Nicole. His place has now been taken by V. Martin, who is preparing another volume. A small collection at Bâle, edited

by E. Rabel in 1917, is unimportant. Holland has only a few Ptolemaic and magical papyri which were edited long ago. There are very few papyri in Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, but more in Russia, which are largely Ptolemaic and nearly all inedited.

America possesses a small collection of papyri at Chicago, edited by E. J. Goodspeed, and at Detroit a number of Biblical MSS. on vellum, which were found in Upper Egypt in 1906, the most important being an early MS. of the Gospels, which has a curious interpolation near the end of St. Mark's Gospel. Shortly before the war Mr. Pierpoint Morgan obtained a collection of over 100 Coptic MSS., which were found in the ruins of an old monastic library at Hamûli in the Fayûm. These are temporarily at the Vatican, being repaired under the direction of Père Hyvernat, who will edit them. A few accessions to this find were brought to Rome in 1920 by Professor F. W. Kelsey, of Michigan University, besides a complete and early papyrus codex of the Minor Prophets. Professor Kelsey, while in Egypt last winter, also obtained a collection of about 400 well-preserved documents from the Fayûm and Oxyrhynchus, together with a long treatise concerning omens (second century) and several hundred lines of a Homeric papyrus (*Iliad*, xviii.). These texts have been divided between the Universities of Michigan (which obtains the larger part) and Wisconsin.

Lastly, while the Alexandrian Museum possesses few papyri of importance, at the Cairo Museum is a very valuable collection of Greek papyri, consisting of (1) two of the chief literary finds, five plays of Menander and part of the Gospel of Peter, an early rival of the canonical gospels, (2) the Oxyrhynchus documents mentioned on p. 149, (3) a large and particularly important group of Byzantine documents from Aphrodito in Upper Egypt, edited by J. Maspero, whose death in the war was an irreparable loss to papyrology, (4) some miscellaneous texts, mostly published by various scholars, (5) the largest section of the Zeno find (cf. p. 154), now being edited by C. C. Edgar in the *Annales du service des antiquités*. An accession to the last-named section, including a papyrus of special importance for the Macedonian Calendar, was made through my agency in 1920.

To sum up, about sixty volumes of papyri or ostraca, with nearly 10,000 texts, have been published, representing probably less than

half of the whole material which has been recovered. The minor publications of non-literary texts have been usefully collected in F. Preisigke's *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. A classification of all Greek and Latin papyri and ostraca published up to 1920, arranged according to subject, date, and provenance, has been compiled by me, and may appear in 1921.

With regard to the palæography of Greek papyri, Sir Frederic Kenyon in 1900 published a book which is still the standard authority, although for the dating of uncials much new evidence is now available, and cursive writing is treated rather briefly. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has valuable chapters dealing with papyri in the second edition of his *Greek and Roman Palæography* (1912), but has not space for many details. The subject will, I hope, some day be treated fully by Hunt. I have begun a comprehensive work on the geography of Graeco-Roman Egypt, for which the papyri provide an immense mass of evidence; but this will take some years to finish. While the new material has been so largely provided by Englishmen, the utilization of it through the composition of books showing the bearing of papyri upon the various branches of history, law, and philology has hitherto been left almost entirely to foreign scholars, principally German or French. The best introduction to papyrology, paying especial attention to literary papyri, is W. Schubart's *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, which appeared in 1918 and is very accurate and clearly arranged. Sir John Mahaffy's *Empire of the Ptolemies* (1897) is not very systematic, and Bouché Leclercq's *Histoire des Lagides*, completed in 1907, of which the first two volumes are mainly devoted to dynastic and foreign history, the last two to the internal condition of the country, is the best general history of the Ptolemaic period. But for the administration of Ptolemaic Egypt the principal authority is U. Wilcken's *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, accompanied by 500 selected texts, and covering the whole period from Alexander to the eighth century. This work of the leading German papyrologist, issued in 1912, has laid a firm historical foundation for future researches connected with Græco-Roman Egypt. A brilliant sketch of the Ptolemaic regime in the light of the most recent discoveries is given by M. Rostovtseff in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* (1920), pp. 161-178. Of the Roman and Byzantine periods in Egypt there is no satisfactory general account. J. G. Milne's

History of Egypt under Roman Rule (1899) is rather slight and out of date. The leading authority is again Wilcken's *Grundzüge*, which gives the main outlines. For the Byzantine period there is, besides Wilcken's book, a good account of the administration by M. Gelzer, and an excellent sketch of the same subject by H. I. Bell in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* (1918). There is a great opening for books dealing with the five main subdivisions of the period from Augustus to Heraclius. There is (1) the period from Augustus to Nero, with the transition from the Ptolemaic system taken over by the conquerors to the developed Roman system. It would be especially interesting to examine in detail how far the Romans altered the Ptolemaic regime, how far they were themselves influenced by it, since the conquest of Egypt with its highly-organised and centralised administration coincided with the establishment of the principate. (2) There is the period from Vespasian to Severus, with the Empire at the height of its prosperity. (3) A new epoch begins with the reforms of Severus, who introduced the Greek system of the city-state into Alexandria and the principal towns, and with the bestowal of Roman citizenship by Caracalla upon the provincials. (4) There is the end of the third century and the fourth, with the reorganisation of Egypt under Diocletian and Constantine, and the general adoption of Christianity leading up to (5) Egypt from the fifth to the seventh centuries as a Byzantine province, with a quite new outlook, system of government, and culture, having by this time lost many of its peculiarities and becoming assimilated to the other parts of the Eastern Empire. Here the gap is likely to be soon filled by the publication of a posthumous work by J. Maspero on Byzantine Egypt which is being edited by Mr. Fortescue.

On the economic side there are two very good books, M. Rostovtseff's *Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (1910), which deals largely with Græco-Roman Egypt, and Vol. i. of U. Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka* (1900), which is primarily concerned with taxation, and remains the chief authority on that subject. H. Maspero's *Les finances de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (1900) and A. Steiner's *Der Fiskus der Ptolemäer* (1902) are unsatisfactory, and most questions concerning finance and taxation in Græco-Roman Egypt, for which there is now a vast quantity of new evidence available, soon to be increased by the publication of the Bodleian ostraca (cf. p. 144),

urgently require to be rehandled. In Leipzig before the war statistics of prices found in the papyri were being collected, and it is to be hoped that this valuable piece of work may be soon completed.

To the French are due the principal works on military affairs in Græco-Roman Egypt. The Ptolemaic army in Egypt (1910), and now the Roman (1919), are the subjects of elaborate and most accurate books by J. Lesquier, while the Byzantine army has been well treated by J. Maspero (1912). A Frenchman has also produced the chief work on municipal organisation, P. Jouguet's *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1909), which, though somewhat lacking in clearness, is very useful. Both this and a recent German work, F. Oertel's *Die Liturgie im hellenistischen Ægypten* (1919, but composed before 1914), which partly covers the same ground, have been supplemented by two publications which appeared during the war, P. Rylands, ii., and P. Oxyrhynchus, xii., containing important minutes of the proceedings of a council of officials at the end of the second century and of a local senate in the third.

There are some good studies of particular officials, especially by G. Plaumann, the ablest of the younger German papyrologists, who was killed in the last days of the war, on the Idios Logos, and that by V. Martin on the Epistrategi, the chief administrators of the three main subdivisions of Roman Egypt, who, as is shown by a Tebtunis papyrus, were of Ptolemaic origin. But there is great need of similar studies dealing, e.g., with the dioecetes, who was the head of the Ptolemaic finance administration but of less consequence in Roman times, with the praefect, who was the head of the whole province in Roman times, and with the strategus, who under both the Ptolemies and the Romans was the chief local official.

The system of credit and banking was highly developed in Græco-Roman Egypt, which was conspicuously modern in this respect. A comprehensive treatise on this subject, *Das Girowesen im griechischen Ægypten* (1910), has been composed by F. Preisigke, but is not very satisfactory, and some rather fundamental questions are still in dispute. Agriculture, for which the extant evidence is particularly comprehensive, and the various industries, also require a series of special studies.

With regard to religion, the organization of the Græco-Egyptian priesthood was dealt with in detail by W. Otto in 1902-5, but much

new information is now available, especially from the *Gnomon* of the Idios Logos (cf. p. 152). Pagan beliefs, especially the cults of Sarapis and Isis and that curious mixture of Greek, Egyptian, Persian, Jewish, and Christian religions illustrated by the magical papyri, have not yet been adequately handled. A corpus of the magical papyri was projected in Germany by K. Preisendanz before the war, and a Czech scholar, Dr. Hopfner, is engaged upon the difficult task of elucidating them. The interesting litany of Isis published in P. Oxyrhynchus, xi. is the subject of a forthcoming work by a young Dutch scholar. On the Christian side the chief work is A. Deissmann's illuminating *Licht vom Osten* (2nd ed., 1910), which has been translated into English (*Light from the Ancient East*).

The juristic side of papyrology, which is rather technical, and of which the importance and interest have hitherto remained unappreciated in this country, is too large a subject to be discussed here. The standard general work on it is L. Mitteis's *Grundzüge* (1912), with 382 selected texts, a companion to Wilcken's work mentioned on p. 156, but much more abstruse. A new selection of ninety-three of the chief juristic texts, with a commentary, has just been issued by P. M. Meyer (1920). There are many books or monographs on particular points by L. Mitteis, O. Gradenwitz, L. Wenger, P. M. Meyer, J. Partsch, and other German or Austrian jurists, and some by Italian and French, but almost the only English jurist who has displayed any interest in the subject is the new Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, F. de Zulueta, who has published a useful essay on *Patronage in the Later Empire*.

To turn from History and Law to Philology, a good grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri by A. Mayser was issued in 1906, and one of the Herculaneum papyri by W. Crönert in 1903. On the fertile subject of the relation of payyri to the Septuagint and New Testament, besides the standard works of A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (1902 : translated as *Bible Studies*) and *Licht vom Osten* (cf. p. 159), good work is being done by British scholars, especially the *Grammar of the New Testament* begun by J. H. Moulton, who fell a victim to German submarine warfare, and now being continued by W. Howard, and the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri*, begun by Moulton and G. Milligan and continued by the latter scholar alone, which has reached nearly halfway through the alphabet. In the forthcoming revised edition of Liddell and Scott's

Lexicon, which is under the direction of H. Stuart Jones, Ptolemaic papyri are being looked after by E. Lobel and P. Jouguet with his pupils, Roman papyri by V. Martin, Byzantine by H. I. Bell. The corresponding German lexicon of Passow was being re-edited by a papyrologist, W. Crönert, but in 1914 had only reached *αν*, and the editor, who was taken prisoner early in the war, has not yet recovered all his materials. F. Preisigke in 1915 issued a vocabulary of technical terms in papyri concerning the administration, which is useful so far as it goes. The same indefatigable researcher has also planned dictionaries, not only of personal names, of which there is a great variety, but of all Greek papyri. In the meantime Heft iii. of his *Berichtigungen*, a collection of all the corrections which have been made upon the original editions of papyri, is about to be issued.

The chief periodical relating to papyri, the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, edited by U. Wilcken, has just resumed publication, while the French have revived the *Revue Égyptologique*, which, under the editorship of A. Moret and P. Jouguet, is now partly devoted to papyrology ; the Italians have started a similar periodical, *Ægyptus*, edited by A. Calderini ; and of C. Wessely's *Studien zur Palæographie und Papyruskunde*, Heft xix. has recently appeared. The lack of an English papyrological journal is more conspicuous than ever.

Having endeavoured to sketch what papyrologists in different countries have achieved during the last generation and are now doing, I conclude with some practical remarks about the future of papyrology in this country. Fortune has been kind to British workers in this field, who have secured the best part of the material in respect of both quantity and quality ; but the small band of British papyrologists has been thinned recently by the death of Sir John Mahaffy in the fullness of years, the absorption of Sir Frederic Kenyon in his duties as Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and the loss of J. de M. Johnson, who has joined the staff of the Clarendon Press and has little time for papyrology. The primary business of Hunt and myself is, of course, the publication of the mass of papyri at Oxford, which has been called " the Mecca of papyrologists ". We should, of course, be glad of the assistance of younger researchers to help us and some day to succeed us. In particular it would be a great advantage if we could get the whole of the unexamined portion of our collection unrolled or extricated from cartonnage, and find out what is there, thus rendering it all avail-

able for study and for publication in more definite groups of cognate papyri than is possible at present. It is very unsatisfactory that we are still quite ignorant of the nature of so many of our unpublished finds, especially those of the Ptolemaic period, and the larger documents of the Roman and early Byzantine periods from Oxyrhynchus. Under present conditions we can only deal with comparatively small sections at a time, and these not necessarily the most important.

Secondly, the contrast between the predominance of this country in the discovery and editing of papyrus texts, and the small part taken by it in the utilization of the material for historical and juristic purposes is hardly creditable. In the list of the chief editions of papyri at the end of Schubart's *Einführung* (cf. p. 156), there are fifteen British entries, including the two largest series, compared to forty-five of all other nationalities ; but in Schubart's list of books dealing with papyri only two out of fifty entries are British. It is to be hoped that this lack of enterprise, for which editors occupied with new texts can hardly be blamed, will not continue much longer. Papyrology, a creation of the last forty years, has been able to avail itself of the high state of organization already attained by Roman epigraphy, and is well systematized. There are plenty of bibliographies ; editions of texts are elaborately indexed, and, in most cases, provided with notes and translations, while there are excellent introductions to the subject and selections. Several of the more important topics which require discussion or further inquiries have been indicated ; but there is also a great opening for less ambitious studies, e.g. combining the information derived from groups of papyri concerning particular persons, localities, or items. The lead which has been given by Oxford and Dublin ought to be followed by other Universities.

Lastly, there is the question of further search for papyri in Egypt. My visit last winter led me to the conclusion that the present time is more propitious for buying papyri found by native diggers for nitrous earth than for digging at one's own expense. America, owing to the favourable exchange, seems to be the only country which is just now in a position to face the heavy outlay for excavations in search of papyri in a town site. The Egypt Exploration Society is fully occupied for the coming winter with its excavations at El Amarna, which are about to commence, and promise results of exceptional interest for Egyptologists. But that Society has by no means abandoned the idea of

resuming excavations on a Græco-Roman site, and, if a successor to us and Johnson is forthcoming in the near future, I shall be happy to assist him in starting work in Egypt. The next few years will probably see the disappearance of the rapidly dwindling rubbish-mounds or house-ruins at the various town-sites in middle Egypt which have yielded papyri ; but it will be some time before the chances of obtaining papyrus-cartonnage are diminished up to the point of excluding the need of further research in Ptolemaic tombs, and tombs of any date within the Græco-Roman period will continue to present the possibility of discovering complete literary rolls, either classical or theological.

CELSUS AND ARISTIDES.

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THE discovery of a fragment of the "Apology of Aristides" among the Oxyrhyncus Papyri is a fact of some importance in the Patristic literature. It is the first *bona fide* piece of Greek evidence for the text of this famous Christian document. It will be remembered that the "Apology" is known to us, apart from the preservation of a single fragment in Armenian, by two phenomenal discoveries; first, that of the Syriac text by myself in the Monastery of Mt. Sinai in 1889; second, Dr. Armitage Robinson's discovery that the lost Greek text had been incorporated, with some modifications, in the famous Christian romance known as the "History of Barlaam and Joasaph," which was supposed to have been written by St. John of Damascus in the monastery of St. Saba, near the Dead Sea. Thus two great convents united to give us back the missing "Apology," one finding us a Syriac translation, the other a Greek incorporation or adaptation. It is natural, then, that the discovery of this precious fragment from the sands of Egypt should re-open a number of questions, which could not be settled at the time of the first publication. Of these the principal points for further discussion and debate are two in number. The one relates to the question of priority and preference, where the Greek and Syriac differ; the other to a non-textual question, but one of no less importance, the enquiry whether the "Apology" was referred to by Celsus in his attack on Christianity in the second century, to which Origen replied with such skill and in such detail in the following century. We may, with advantage, review the situation from these two points of view.

Let us begin with the question of Celsus and Aristides, and so we can proceed to discuss the involved question of the comparative value of the Greek and Syriac texts.

The Celsus and Aristides problem arose out of a series of observations made by myself as to the coincidences which could be traced between the polemic of Celsus and the statements made by Aristides. The parallels were not exhaustively treated, but were sufficient to show a connection of ideas and language expressing those ideas, which would either prove Celsus dependent on Aristides, as I supposed, or both of them to be dependent upon a third document. It was at this point that the difficulty arose, for it was maintained by Dr. Armitage Robinson in his exposition of the Greek text which he had so brilliantly recovered, that the coincidences between Celsus and Aristides were due to a common employment of the lost "Preaching of Peter". Accordingly, he collected from the fragments of the Preaching a series of agreements on five principal points *plus* six supplementary possibilities of dependence, as follows :—

(1) That the Preaching called the Deity παντοκράτωρ.

(2) That it stated that "God created the heaven and earth and all that is therein."

(3) That all things were made "for the sake of man" and placed in subjection to him.

(4) That it contained a reference to the folly of guarding the Deity, as in the case of carefully watched statues of gold, silver, etc.

(5) That it maintained that God has no need of sacrifices.

To these five points he added more hesitatingly the following six :—

(6) That God must give the power to speak rightly of Himself.

(7) That it contained a reference to the superstitions of the Jews with regard to circumcision and clean and unclean meats.

(8) That Christians maintain and sustain the world.

(9) That they have God's commandments fixed in their hearts.

(10) It also had a reasoned condemnation of the worship of the elements, such as fire and water,

(11) And a statement that God was to be worshipped by benevolence.

From these parallels it was concluded that "most of the coincidences (between Celsus and Aristides) which had been pointed out would be accounted for by the supposition that it was not our 'Apology,' but the 'Preaching of Peter,' which, like 'Jason and Papiscus,' and other apocryphal writings, supplied the materials of hs attack."

As we shall examine the question presently, *de novo* and *ab initio*, we do not at this point discuss the parallels in detail. Dr. Robinson was evidently not quite satisfied with his result; for, at the risk of repetition, he made a fresh collection of the supposed loans from Aristides in the pages of Celsus, enumerating eight passages which contained striking coincidences of thought or language. He then made an observation (the value of which he did not sufficiently estimate) that Celsus was, sometimes, as it would seem, retorting upon Christians language which had been employed by themselves (the *tu quoque* argument) as, for instance, when he says that Jesus in His Passion, had *no help* from His Father, nor was enabled to *help Himself*. This would be a very natural reply to the language of Aristides about the gods who could not help others nor help themselves, and it would be decisive as to the dependence of Celsus or Aristides, or almost decisive. We will examine the point more closely presently. Dr. Robinson seems to have been so much impressed with these suggested Celsian retorts that he finally concluded that it "is not easy to say whether it was the 'Preaching of Peter' or the 'Apology of Aristides' which lay before Celsus, but we can hardly doubt that it must have been one or the other." So he left the matter in suspense, as was not unnatural thirty years ago, and in dealing with a newly found document; let us see whether, on reviewing the evidence to-day, we can come to a more definite conclusion.

We begin, then, by reading the arguments of Celsus, as represented in Origen, side by side with the arguments of Aristides in order to see whether one of them is replying to the other. We should easily satisfy ourselves that Celsus is replying to something or somebody, to some written statement or some living people; and if we put ourselves as far as possible, in Celsus' position, and, so to speak, identify ourselves with him, we can reconstruct his adversary by a study of the blows that are being aimed at him. If it is a book that is being demolished, the critic will have been reading the book with an annotating and underscoring pencil; he will point out by his annotation, too, what his antagonist, or the person whom he has elected to antagonise, has emphasised or underlined in his own speech or treatise. He will concentrate his attention on those points which are vital and must be replied to, or those which are vulnerable and must be held up to ridicule. Let us try for awhile to acquire a Celsus-consciousness.

We find we are writing a book in which, after a brief introduction on illicit assemblies, which is really addressed to the Government (*non licet vos esse*), and so is an evidence that the appeal which we are trying to counter was itself an appeal to the Government, that is, to the Emperor, we begin by pointing out that Christianity is a religion of barbarians. The reason why we introduce this abrupt form of attack is that the Apologist whose scalp we are after, has been using the term "barbarian" in his address, and has either made the Greek world into a world of barbarian ideas, or has put the Greeks next door to barbarians. The natural answer to this is the *tu quoque* which Dr. Robinson detected; what do you mean by barbarians, dear sir? Are you not in your religion an off-shoot of Judaism and are not the Jews barbarians? So we have by our retort reconstructed the world of four religions, to wit the Greeks (ourselves and Celsus) the barbarians whom you quote and to whom both of you, Jews and Christians, belong, and your twain selves.

> *βάρβαρόν φησιν ἄνωθεν τὸ δόγμα, δηλονότι τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμὸν οὗ Χριστιανισμὸς ἥρτηται.*
>
> —"c. Celsum," i. 2.

Here then we have the suggestion of a world of four religions. Now it will be remembered that the Syriac Aristides divides mankind into four races, the *Barbarians*, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Christians, while the Greek of Barlaam and Joasaph has three only, viz., idol worshippers, Jews and Christians: and the first class three subdivisions, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Egyptians. Upon this Dr. Robinson remarks that "the fourfold division of the Syriac and Armenian versions . . . comes under grave suspicion; and the more we examine it the less primitive it appears. For to the Greek mind the Jews were themselves barbarians. . . . Moreover, there seems to be no parallel to this fourfold classification of races in early Christian literature." Precisely: the Jews were themselves barbarians: that is what Celsus is trying to say; and it requires the Syriac Aristides for an antecedent.

Returning to our Celsus, we find that the next point is that, so far as Christianity is a philosophy it is common with other philosophies: it has nothing new about it. We are attacking someone in a philosopher's garb. He appears to have a wallet labelled "novelties" but it is stuffed with matters borrowed from other schools. If he poses

as a philosopher, and prates of philosophy, let him produce something fresh, if he wishes to make a fresh religion.

It need hardly be said that this attempt to discount the philosophy of an opponent was extremely natural, if the opponent or opposed person had begun by saying, "I am a philosopher from Athens," and had produced a string of Stoic sentences about the Divine Nature and the Cosmos. Evidently Celsus has read the prologue and the first chapter. He annotates it, "no novelty"; as he goes on he finds that manufactured goods are said not to be gods; he puts on the margin the words "*nihil novi:* confer Heraclitum, *θεοὶ ἄψυχοι*". He will do this the more emphatically if the claim for novelty should be found in the volume to which he is replying. Well, we actually find in the "Apology of Aristides" the statement made to the Emperor that,

> Truly this is a new people, and there is something divine mingled with it. Take now their writings and read.

We notice that this assertion of novelty and appeal for attention is in the Syriac text, and not in the Greek.

Celsus, then, disposes rapidly enough of the philosophy of the man whom he is criticising, as if it were enough to say, "one more philosopher! What of that?" but as he runs his eye over the section on the Divine Nature, and catches sight of the statement that God "made all things for the sake of man," he cannot refrain from an attack on this ridiculous Stoic doctrine, and as it is clearly one of the special beliefs of Aristides, it must be reserved for a special refutation.

It is interesting to observe how careful Celsus is to confute the emphatic and repeated statements of his adversary: and since Aristides has the trick of saying things several times over, like a counsel addressing a jury, Celsus feels bound to take him on his repetitions.

Most of his references to the making of the world for the sake of man are given by Origen in his fourth book, to the effect that the world was no more made for man than for brute beasts, or for plants or shrubs, ants and bees, lions and dolphins. He laughs zoologically and botanically, he will even set the sun, moon, and stars laughing at the pigmy pride of man. The world is not anthropocentric for Celsus, any more than it is melittocentric or even heliocentric.[1] On the

[1] "c. Celsum," iv. 74, 75, 99.

surface of the argument the Epicurean wins easily, but surface arguments are in two dimensions, the true philosopher has to work in three.

The next step in the evolution of the attack of Celsus is a rapid lunge at the Jews, in order to detach them from the Christians, with whom he had previously coupled them, followed by a decision to take the Christians first and the Jews later. We know, says Celsus, that

> The Jews worship angels and are devoted to sorcery of which Moses was their teacher (ἧς ὁ Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγήτης).

"but we will show presently that they are deceived and have stumbled through ignorance":

> ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ διδάξειν ἐξῆς, πῶς καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι
> ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἐσφάλησαν ἐξαπατώμενοι.
>
> —"c. Celsum," i. 26.

In making these statements we may observe two things: first that the reply of Celsus does what the "Apology" itself suggests; it refers to the Jews and postpones them; next, the language of Celsus anticipates the statement of Aristides that the "Jews have gone astray from accurate knowledge . . . their service is to angels and not to God." In both respects Celsus runs parallel to the Syriac version, which differs from the Greek, both in the order of the material and in its content.

According to the same Syriac version, we have the defence of the Christian faith introduced by a brief study of origins:—

> The Barbarians reckon the head of their religion from . . . and the Greeks from. . . .
>
> The Jews reckon the head of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, from whom was born Jacob, etc.
>
> The Christians reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ.

Now it is clear that this repeated expression stands for an original Greek γενεαλογοῦνται.

We can see this as regards the Jews, if we turn to the fifth book against Celsus:

> He (Celsus) did not wish to appear ignorant of a fact not easily to be neglected. For it is clear that the Jews reckon their racial origin from the three patriarchs, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob (ὅτι καὶ γενεαλογοῦνται Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν τρίων πατέρων, τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ).[1]

[1] "c. Celsum," v. 33, and compare v. 35, "the genealogy which he deemed the Jews to have so shamelessly arrogated in boasting of Abraham and his descendants": "those names from which the Jews derive their genealogies."

The Greek text preserves the same statement for the Christians in the form

οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

If, however, this fragment had been missing from the Greek text, we could have divined it from the statement of Celsus, who, after postponing the study of Judaism, first of all makes his discourse concerning our Saviour, inasmuch as he was our leader, so far as we are Christians by race : (πρῶτον ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὡς γινομένου ἡγεμόνος τῇ καθὸ Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν γενέσει ἡμῶν).[1]

It is clear that these successive statements of genealogy belong where the Syriac "Apology" has placed them, and not at the end of the Oration : Celsus will speak first of what comes first in the book, the origin of the Christians and their beliefs ; and these are his actual words : "In quite recent times he became the leader of this teaching, being regarded by the Christians as the Son of God" : (αὐτὸν πρὸ πάνυ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης καθηγήσασθαι, νομισθέντα ὑπὸ Χριστιανῶν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ).[2]

Clearly Celsus is following Aristides very carefully at this point, not only as regards the order of the argument, but as to its content ; for here we are at the centre of the Christian confession. The Syriac says,—

The Christians reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High,

and the Greek says,—

Who is confessed to be the Son of God most High.

The Greek "confessed" is later theological language than the Syriac ; νομισθέντα was not strong enough but the Syriac appears to have misread a Greek νομίζεται as ὀνομάζεται.

And now Celsus scrutinises every word, and rains down his blows heavily on his opponent : first of all, "it is said that God came down from heaven" ; (the Greek indulges in expansions, as that He came down by the Holy Spirit, and that it was for us men and our salvation, as the early Creeds say).

Now this his Epicurean philosophy would not allow : he breaks out with—

[1] "c. Celsum," i. 21. [2] *Ibid.*

O Jews and Christians, no God or Son of God has ever descended nor ever may descend:

and it was natural that Origen should, in his fifth book, convict him of impiety in the first case, as denying either the descent from Heaven or the actual divinity, of Apollo and Æsculapius, or as forsaking the camouflage of his own Epicurean doctrine, which he had hitherto judiciously practised. See how the fellow, says Origen, in his zeal to make wreckage of us, though he never admitted throughout his work that he was an Epicurean, is now caught sneaking off to Epicurus.[1] Is he going to accept the doctrine of Providence which we Christians affirm with the Stoics? He had better take another turn at the Christian Scriptures, and learn accurately the care of God for man.

The same contradiction of Celsus to the doctrine of a descending God is in the opening of Origen's fourth book, where Celsus is reported as saying, that certain Christians and the Jews maintain, some that *God has descended*, others that *God or the Son of God will descend* to a certain land, but this does not require a serious refutation. Celsus has a further fling at the idea that the coming of God could be foretold. Anyone could fulfil such prophecies, "some fanatically, and others making collections, say that the Son of God is come from above." To which Origen replies that we have no trace of such self-divinising in the Jewish records.

We notice that the language of Celsus about the descent of God, or the Son of God is suggested by the Syriac "Aristides," which tells us that Jesus Christ is the *Son of God* and that it is said that *God* comes down from heaven; the point is missed in the Greek. Celsus did not miss the variation in the language. By this time we are in the heart of the Creed; when we come to the statement of the Virgin Birth, we find the Greek text varying from the Syriac, chiefly by the addition of later theological language. The Syriac says that "God came down from heaven and from a Hebrew Virgin took and clad himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God." The Greek says, "He was born of a holy Virgin, ἀσπόρως καὶ ἀφθόρως and took flesh and appeared to men."[2] Here there is

[1] "c. Celsum," v. 1.

[2] That the term "Hebrew Virgin" is genuine Aristides, and has been replaced by "Holy Virgin" in the Greek, appears from a fragment of a lost work of Aristides preserved in the Armenian. It runs as follows: "He

only a trace of the Syriac form, but that the latter is correct will appear by turning to another passage in Barlaam and Joasaph (i. 3) where it is said that Christ ὤφθη καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ . . . παρθένου ᾠκήσε δι' ἡμᾶς where the *dwelling* of Christ in the Virgin is clearly taken from the Syriac.

The next sentence in the Syriac is mistranslated in the *editio princeps*. It should run thus :

This is learned from the Gospel, which, they say, has been preached a short time ago.

Celsus is directed to the Virgin Birth and the Gospel, and he accepts the challenge vigorously : he had already picked up the admission that it was "a short time ago" (πρὸ πάνυ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης) and now he hits out hard with the story of the illicit connection between the Virgin and the soldier Panther, employing a second camouflage for his own personal opinions, by the introduction of a Jew who is now the protagonist, an Epicurean converted for the nonce. The battle is a long one and we do not follow it in detail ; all that we are concerned with is the proof that everything of importance in the Syriac is taken over by Celsus, and every vital statement has an arrow sticking in it.

Returning to the Syriac text we notice that the punctuation has got wrong. It should read :—

In order that a certain *οἰκονομία* might be fulfilled, he was pierced by the Jews, etc.

The allusion to the *οἰκονομία* will be found reflected on Barlaam and Joasaph (c. 61), as follows :—

"Do you ask me how we came to hear the words of the incarnate God ? Know that it was through the holy Gospels that we learnt all about the Divine-human *οἰκονομία*." The dependence of this passage on the "Apology" is clear, and it is one more illustration of the extent to which the Barlaam and Joasaph story is saturated with Aristides. The Greek now becomes interesting : it connects the completion of the economy with the crucifixion, but without any reference to the Jews : καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν, διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο, ἑκουσίᾳ βουλῇ, κατ'

united to Himself the flesh from a *Hebrew Virgin* the Holy Mary". If this is Aristides it suggests to us that the "Hebrew Virgin" should belong to the primitive draft of the "Apology".

οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην. But this completion of the economy[1] will also be found in Barlaam and Joasaph in the opening chapter as follows :—

καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τελέσας οἰκονομίαν.
—"B. and J.," 4.

Celsus continues his examination of the Christian Creed. He accepts the statement that our Lord "was crucified by the Jews," but says that it was on account of his crimes, and makes his camouflaged representative say the same. "We punished him" says the Jew : Celsus says a second time that he paid the penalty among the Jews for his offences. "We both found him guilty and condemned him as deserving death" says the Jew.[2]

So there need be no hesitation in believing that Celsus had before him a statement that Jesus suffered at the hands of the Jews, even though there is nothing to that effect in the Greek text as edited by Robinson.

The next point that Celsus has to face is the question whether gods, of whom images are made, can be trusted to take care of themselves ; and if not, how they can take care of their worshippers ? As this is a special theme with Aristides, on which he enlarges and which he repeats over and over, we will look somewhat more closely at the section in which it first appears, which is headed in Syriac as the Folly of the Barbarians, but in Greek as the Aberrations of the Chaldeans. We have already explained that Chaldean is secondary and Barbarian primary in the tradition of Aristides. The section which we are engaged on has a special interest, since both the Greek and the Syriac make Aristides quote the first chapter of Romans :

[1] The expression *τελεῖν οἰκονομίαν* becomes almost classical. Here is a very curious early case in the "Life of Abercios," which runs parallel to Aristides :—

Τίνος ἕνεκεν διὰ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου προήγαγεν
Μαριάς ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
ἀπέστειλεν, εἰ μή τινα χάριν καὶ οἰκονομίαν ἐξετέλει ;

It is a translation or transference from the "Acts of Peter" (c. 7, p. 53) :—

"Cujus rei causa deus filium suum misit in saeculo aut cujus rei per virginem Mariam protulit, si non aliquam gratiam aut *procurationem proficeret.*"

[2] "c. Celsum," ii. 4, 5, 10.

" they began to serve created things rather than the Creator,"[1] and the Greek text has made its mark on one or two other places in Barlaam and Joasaph, showing once more how saturated the monk of St. Saba is with his favourite book. For example we have—

> ἐγκλείσαντες ἐν ναοῖς προσεκύνησαν, λατρεύοντες τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τῷ Κτίσαντι.
>
> —" B. and J.," vii. 48.

> μορφώματα ἀνετυπώσαντο καὶ τούτους θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν.
>
> —*Ibid.*, vii. 49.

> τηροῦντες αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ, τοῦ μὴ ὑπὸ κλεπτῶν συληθῆναι, . . . καὶ τὸ μὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαρκοῦνται καὶ βοηθεῖν, πῶς ἄλλοις γένοιντο φύλακες καὶ σωτῆρες ;
>
> —*Ibid.*, x. 81.

As we have said, Aristides harps on this theme again and again. How can Asclepios be a god when he was unable to help himself, when struck by lightning, or Dionysus, who could not save himself from being slain be able to help others ? Or Herakles, whose end was sad, and bad, and mad, be able to respond to an appeal for help ? Or Aphrodite be a goddess when she could not help Adonis, or Adonis be a god when he could not help himself ? Or Rhea when she could not help Attis ? Or Koré who was carried off to Hades ? Or Isis be a goddess and unable to help Osiris her lord ? And speaking generally how can gods who cannot help themselves be of any use ? They are too weak for their own salvation. It seems that the humour of the discussion is not all on one side. Aristides is really laughing, and some will say laughing too loud and long. How shall we refute him ?

Obviously the *tu quoque* argument is the simplest. Say the same things of the other man's god. Ask him if God saved Jesus, or if Jesus was able to save Himself. That will dispose very neatly of Aphrodite and Adonis, or Isis and Osiris, and the rest. Accordingly Celsus reproaches the Saviour because of His sufferings, says that He received no assistance from His Father, nor was in a position to help Himself : ὡς μὴ βοηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντι ἑαυτῷ

[1] There is a suspicion also of a quotation from Ephesians by Aristides : for in the 17th chapter he tells the Emperor that there are things recorded in pagan literature which it is not proper to speak of, but they are not only said but actually done ; the language is very like Eph. v. 12, " It is a shame even to speak of the disgraceful things done by them in secret ".

βοηθῆσαι.[1] How curiously the history of unbelief repeats itself: Celsus is standing with the priests at the Cross and saying the same thing as they—'Himself He cannot save!'"

But let us come to more detail of divine disgrace. You have talked, sir philosopher, in mirth of gods who are bound, as Kronos was or Ares, or taken captive or who ran away, as Dionysus did, but tell us plainly whether Jesus was not taken prisoner. Did he not run away hither and thither, with his disciples? Why had he to be carried as a babe into Egypt for safety? A god ought not to be afraid of death.[2]

In this way Celsus counters, or thinks to counter, the mirth of Aristides. If the latter makes merriment over gods that have to get their living, as Hephaestus in his smithy, or Apollo taking fees for his oracular advice, we of the Celsus party must point out that Jesus and his disciples went about collecting their daily food in a shameful and importunate manner. Are these friars so very different from the gods whom they denounce?[3]

It is clear, then, that Aristides' "Apology" is the background of Celsus' "True Word"; the one is necessary to the understanding of the other.[4]

Moreover we have shown, not only that Celsus is following the argument of Aristides point by point, but that he is following it in a a text that agrees closely with the Syriac MS. It is surely hardly necessary to pursue the matter further. Whatever may be the ultimate meaning of the coincidences with the "Preaching of Peter" or the "Epistle to Diognetus" they can only serve as illustrations, they cannot be treated as sources. The attempt so to treat them may be discarded.

We have also learnt another important lesson, viz.: that the text of Aristides is much more widely diffused through the story of Barlaam and Joasaph than the first editions supposed. The "Apology" is not

[1] "c. Celsum," i. 54.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 65, 66.

[3] φησὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αἰσχρῶς καὶ γλίσχρως τὰς τροφὰς συλλέγοντα περιεληλυθέναι. —*Ibid.*, i. 66.

[4] It is curious to note that Aristides is really expanding an argument of Heraclitus: εἰ θεοί εἰσιν ἵνα τι θρηνέετε αὐτούς; εἰ δὲ θρηνέετε αὐτοὺς, μηκέτι τούτους ἡγέεσθε θεούς. See Buresch, "Klaros," p. 118. Neumann, "Heraklitea": Hermes, XV. 60.

merely borrowed *en bloc*, its use can be traced from the very first page of the story. It was in the mind of John of Damascus when he began to write. Its outcrop is everywhere. Stray words and phrases are constantly occurring which betray their origin.

Another thing which we shall need to bear in mind, when we do further work in the text, is that the Syriac has almost everywhere the right of way. Dr. Robinson presented an ingenious argument from the case of a parallel Syriac Apology, "The Hypomnemata of Ambrosius," of which portions are contained in Ps. Justin's "Address to the Greeks." It was possible to show that the Syriac was frequently an abbreviation or a misunderstanding of the Greek. Dr. Robinson inferred that all Syriac translators may be expected to show similar translator's lapses : no doubt there will be some errors of reading and translation in all versions, but as far as we can judge our Syriac Aristides will not require very much of an apology for his "Apology."

A SUMMARY OF RECENT CRITICISM OF "THE ODES OF SOLOMON."

By ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D., Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

THE present trend of opinion among scholars concerning the character of the *Odes of Solomon* seems so far to follow the usual course adopted by them in 1910-1916, that is, each one is still endeavouring to look at them from the angle of vision which is best adapted to his own way of thinking. So Dr. M. Gaster finds that the Odes are thoroughly Jewish in origin, emanating from some Israelitish mystics of the first or second century of the Christian era. He says in effect: "With the elimination of a few passages, the whole collection has a typical Jewish aspect, and is unquestionably of Jewish origin. It is thus an important contribution to ancient Jewish Hymnology. . . . The *Psalms of Solomon* now form part of the collection in which the Odes are also included, and it is an idle attempt to separate one from the other."[1] That the Odes, however, are thoroughly Christian (or at the most Judæo-Christian) in character may now be considered as established, in spite of the isolated opinion of a few dissentient critics.

The best review that has appeared of the edition of the Odes recently published under the auspices of the John Rylands Library is undoubtedly that of the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.[2] Dr. Bernard is a man who is to be reckoned with in any rôle he assumes in discussions, be it that of a protagonist or an antagonist. Whether one agrees with his views or not, one is bound to say that they always strike a note of originality, especially in the domain of Patristics and Liturgiology. So with regard to the puzzling vv. 8-9 of Ode XIX :—

[1] *The Jewish Guardian*, for September, 1920, p. 6.

[2] In *Theology*, 1920, pp. 288-98, and in *Church Quarterly Review*, 1920, pp. 163-67.

And she travailed and brought forth a son without incurring pain
For it did not happen without purpose;
And she had not required a midwife
For He (God) delivered her

Bernard refers us to a very appropriate saying of Origen and to its ultimate source, which is Isa. lxvi. 7, " Before she travailed, she brought forth ; before her pain came she was delivered of a man child ". The value of this prophetical sentence would have increased tenfold had Isaiah written it in English, because it might also have served to throw some light on v. 10 of the Ode, " And she brought forth, as a man, by (God's) will ". Unfortunately the words appearing in English as " man child " are a free translation of the Hebrew ZKR, meaning simply *male*. However that may be, Bernard's reference is certainly valuable. In his review Bernard has expressed in a rather strong language disapproval of some of our own views on the matter. With a few of the theories adopted by him we venture to disagree, and the reasons for our disagreement will be very succinctly exposed in the following lines for his consideration.

On ff. 288-89 Bernard quotes one of the rubrics of the morning office in the Syriac *Testamentum Domini* to the following effect : " Let them sing psalms, and four hymns of praise ; one by Moses, and of Solomon and of the other prophets," and adds that in this rubric a distinction is drawn between *psalms* and *hymns of praise* of Moses, and of Solomon and the prophets—i.e. between the Canonical psalter and the ᾠδαί of the Eastern Church, and concludes " It seems to me fairly certain that we have here a trace of the use of the Odes in public worship in the Syrian Church ". That the Odes were probably in use in the West Syrian Church we have demonstrated by a more direct evidence in our own book (p. 132), but we question Bernard's " fairly certain " opinion that the above quotation can lead us to the same conclusion.

The words used in the rites and breviaries of the Syrian Church to express psalms are *mazmōra* (very common), *tishbohta*,[1] and *Zmirta*,[2] and in case a distinction is drawn between psalms of David and any other psalms, the word *mazmōra* is retained exclusively for the psalter, and the word *tishbohta* (hymn of praise) is used for any

[1] See Wright's *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Syr. MSS.*, I, pp. 116, 119, etc.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 132, etc.

other hymn ; now every psalter of the Syrian Church contains the 150 psalms of David, and from 1 to 12 *hymns of praise* among which is always one by Moses (Exod. xv. 1-21, and Deut. xxxii. 1-43), and very often one by Isaiah (xxvi. 9-19, and xliii. 10-13).[1] In the public libraries of East and West we have Syriac psalters written about a century before the date of the translation of the Syriac *Testamentum* and none of them ascribes any of the twelve *hymns of praise* that it contains to Solomon.

Further, the word used to express Odes in both the Syriac manuscripts of the Odes and Psalms of Solomon is *Zmirta*, which is never used in the terminology of the Syrian Church to express "hymn of praise" in the contrast established with the Davidic psalms. The word used in the *Testamentum Domini* to render "hymn of praise" is *tishbohta* and not *Zmirta*, and this word cannot refer to any Odes of Solomon. It is, therefore, technically improbable that the *hymns of praise* spoken of in the Syriac *Testamentum* should refer to our Odes of Solomon.

What is, then, the precise meaning of the words "and of Solomon" used in the *Testamentum?* Cooper and Maclean[2] have conjectured that they refer to the "Song of Songs". In favour of their opinion we may state that the book of the Salomonic "Song of Songs" is appended sometimes to the four Gospels for use in Church services,[3] but against their view may be urged the fact that, to our knowledge, no extant Syriac psalter couples any pericope of the Salomonic canticles with the hymns of praise spoken of in the preceding lines. In our edition of the Odes we followed Mgr. I. E. Rahmani,[4] the editor of the *Testamentum*, who believes that the words "and of Solomon" refer to Psalm 71, which is generally ascribed to Solomon, even in Hebrew. In carefully examining the Syriac text of the *Testamentum*[5] I became convinced that one may say more in refutation of Bernard's interpretation, but the matter is really a digression from our present subject. A point, however, that Bernard will bear in mind is that the *Testamentum* is speaking here of "Laudatio

[1] See Wright's *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Syr. MSS.*, I, pp. 119-21, etc.
[2] *The Testament of Our Lord*, 1902, p. 180.
[3] See Wright and Cook, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts* (of Cambridge), I, p. 5.
[4] *Testamentum Domini Nostri*, 1899, p. 208.
[5] P. 54 (Rahm. edit.).

Aurorae" and not of "Praecepta et canones circa ordinem baptizandorum".

If there was any strong probability that the rubric found in the *Testamentum* referred to our Odes, we should gladly have availed ourselves of it to corroborate some of the views that we have expressed on liturgical points dealing with the history and interpretation of the Salomonic Odes, but the technical reasons given above militated against such a probability, and, much to our regret, we were obliged to abandon the theory now repeated by Bernard.

On p. 295 Bernard objects to our using the Romanized Syrian offices instead of Denzinger's *Ritus Orientalium* in our search for illustrations to the Odes. This, we beg to say, is a great inadvertence on the part of the Provost of Trinity College. We were speaking in our book (p. 132) of the *Breviaries* and not of the *Rites* of the Syrian Church, and surely Bernard is aware of the immense difference existing between the two. So far as the Oriental rites are concerned we read them all in their original texts, and Bernard may find traces of our reading in some pages of our book, but for special reasons of our own we preferred to read them in their original languages rather than in the translation recommended by Bernard. It will interest him to learn that from 1902-1910 I edited all the Oriental rites of one of the most important branches of the Syrian Church; surely, then, Bernard will be prepared to give me the credit of some knowledge of the Oriental rites. As to the *Breviaries* of the Syrian Churches, they are so insufficiently known in Europe that we venture to state that no Western scholar has ever attempted to read them in their totality. We had right, therefore, to expect a word of appreciation from Dr. Bernard for having perused such cumbrous but highly instructive books in order to find possible parallels illustrating the Salomonic Odes.

On p. 295 Bernard is finding fault with us for having translated the v. 3 of Ode XXXVI as follows: (The Spirit) "brought me forth before the face of the Lord; and although a Son of man, I was named the Luminary, the Son of God". Bernard prefers a translation to the effect: "I was named the illuminated one" in order to refer the sentence to the new birth of the baptized (*illuminati*). We would have been very glad to adopt Bernard's translation if the Syriac text had allowed such an interpretation; but unhappily it did

not, and so we must reject his saying: "I submit that this is a case where the old translation, which places the Ode in the mouth of the *illuminatus*, must stand". As a rule Bernard may take it for granted that, unless there are explicit indications to the contrary, the translation which we have adopted for a given verse is the only probable one that may safely be adopted without doing violence to the text.

It is not merely the translation which Bernard prefers that is at fault. His interpretation is, on his own showing, improbable. For if the Odes are not to be taxed with unorthodoxy (and he challenges us for actually doing so) (p. 295) what are we to say of an interpreter who makes a baptized Christian speak of himself in a single breath as

(*a*) Son of Man,
(*b*) The Luminary,
(*c*) Son of God,

all of which we have shown to be proper terms for Jesus Christ to use of himself?

And again, with regard to the orthodoxy of the Odes, which Dr. Bernard wishes to safeguard (a point on which we do not take a dogmatic position), what are we to say of the orthodoxy of a baptized Christian who is made, on Bernard's theory, to declare that the *Lord possessed me from the beginning* (p. 292), that is, "I (the speaker) am the Divine Sophia"? All this certainly points to pre-Nicene theology, but did any early Christian, baptized or not, ever say such a thing?

One word more in this connection: Bernard challenges our translation of the words which we render:—

> I was the most glorified among the glorious ones
> And the greatest among the great ones.

For the translation we will abide by the judgment of competent Syriac scholars (and if I know any Syriac at all I can assert that the translation adopted by Bernard is improbable); for the interpretation, Bernard tells us that it relates to the spiritual rebirth of "notable Christians," i.e. of a "notable Christian," who recites the Ode in the singular, and is so convinced of his own "notability" that he equates himself with the greatness of the Most High.

We come now to the more important question of the character of the Odes and of the approximate date of their composition. Ber-

nard still clings to his old opinion that the forty-two Odes are baptismal in character, or written with an eye fixed on the sacrament of baptism, and asks us again to reconsider the simple theory that the Odes are hymns of the Catholic Church having special reference to the hopes and rejoicings of the catechumens or the newly baptized. This theory has, he adds, "the advantage of interpreting all the Odes in the same way".[1]

In our edition we have conceded the possibility of some baptismal references in the Odes, but found ourselves unable to subscribe to Bernard's opinion that they were baptismal on any extended scale. We examined the whole theory *de novo*, and endeavoured to state both sides of the case without prejudice. A controversialist might imagine that we were giving our case away, and even Bernard has misunderstood our attempt at impartiality. Few scholars will deny that Ode XXIV contains allusions to baptism, and we fully agree that the dove which flew over the head of our Lord the Messiah, and the terror which overtook the abysses and all the creeping things, do refer to our Lord's presence in the waters of the Jordan. We agree also that Ode VI, which has the verse, "and they lived by the water an eternal life" is probably veneered at the close with a baptismal reference, but we cannot accept that the mysterious letter and wheel of Ode XXIII have anything to do with aspersion immersion or affusion, nor can we believe that the cosmographical Ode XVI has many things in common with the catechumens or the newly baptized. It is precisely the discontinuity of thought in the Odes that impedes us from holding that they are all directed to a single and undivided aim, and in our judgment it would be as difficult to assign a single aim to the forty-two Odes as it would be arduous to refer the first 42 Canonical psalms to a single object. The task is hopeless and would overburden the shoulders even of a Bernard. We are proud to say that we shall be the first champions of Bernard's baptismal theory if, in a contingent future, he shows himself able to interpret "all the Odes in the same way," whatever that way may be. In the meantime, we shall wait and see.

A final word must be said about the date of the composition of the Odes. It is admitted on all hands that the Odes, because of their

[1] *Church Quarterly*, p. 167.

being quoted in the *Pistis Sophia*, cannot be later than A.D. 210, and, because of their exclusively Christian colouring, cannot be ascribed to a date preceding A.D. 70 ; but to fix on a precise date within these two limits is strictly speaking impossible. If we exclude the two temple-verses of Odes IV and VI (if taken literally), the Odes are devotional hymns devoid of any historical landmarks, and the question of their date depends almost entirely on internal evidence. By a long process of investigation we came to ascribe them to a period not remote from the borders of the first century. To arrive at this conclusion we were at some pains not to omit any essential factors : we tried the argument of the style, we explored the evidence of the Biblical semi-quotations, we adduced the new factor of the Targums, and we examined in detail the somewhat archaic savour of many of the Odist's beliefs. Bernard in his review has neglected all these factors (with the exception of some words that he writes on Wisdom—Christology), and has assigned to the Odes the somewhat narrow limits of 150-170. He has not given us a shred of evidence why he thinks so. On our part we did not feel justified to be dogmatic in our conclusions, and we did not even discard the possibility that Bardaisan might have had something to do with the Odes. Would it be asking too much to beg the Provost of Trinity College always to set forth the reasons for his patronization of one opinion rather than another ?

Having set aside all the internal factors that we investigated for the fixing of an approximate date to the composition of the Odes, Bernard took for the line of his offensive the ground of the external evidence that we adduced, and this seemed to him to be totally inadequate for he writes " I hold that the attempt to place them on the borders of the first century has failed " (p. 297). In this juncture we wish to draw attention to the fact that the texts of the Fathers on which we drew for our conclusions in connection with the Odes are considered by us as illustrations to the thought of the Odist, and not necessarily as direct quotations, except one or two passages of Ephrem, which seem to be more in the domain of direct quotations. Had we believed them to be direct quotations we would have printed them in the first volume, alongside of the passages of Lactantius and *Pistis Sophia*. In our researches we did not want to leave any stone unturned in connection with the time, the approximate date, and the country of the Odist. We thought that if many uncommon ideas of

the Odes could be paralleled in the writings of a Father of the second century living, say, in Edessa or in Antioch, there would be in these two localities a somewhat firm ground on which the Odist might have walked, if not physically at least morally and intellectually. We cannot here repeat and bring under review all the evidence that is found in the last edition of the Odes, but there are two passages from Bardaisan which need some explanation, because, in our judgment, Bernard has not attached to them the importance that they deserve. The first is the queer belief attributed by Ephrem to Manichaeans and to Bardaisan (whom he calls teacher of Mani) to the effect that the sun and the moon "receive from each other".

The passages are worded in the following terms: Ode XVI, 17, "Their reception (sun and night) one from the other". Bardaisan: "They (sun and moon) receive one from the other".

In the original Syriac the above words are in every respect identical. Now the idea that the sun and the moon or the sun and the night receive from each other is not very common, and I have not come across anything like it in books written in any language, either Oriental or Occidental, that I have perused, not even in the domain of folk-lore. The existence, therefore, of such an idea in two distinct works referring to astronomical beliefs of the second century of our era is certainly remarkable, and I think we were fully justified in calling attention to it. Bernard, however, would have nothing of it because, as he says, "it is quite untrustworthy to build on so slight a verbal parallel" (p. 290). With the kind of evidence that Bernard requires we are not here concerned, but when he writes that we cannot get the above meaning without altering the text of the Odes, we will reply that this meaning is precisely the one we can get without altering the text of the Odes.

The second passage quoted in illustration of the belief of Bardaisan in relation to the Odes bears on v. 8 of Ode XXV:—

> And I was covered with the covering of the Spirit,
> And I removed[1] from me the raiments of skins.

It is obvious that Bernard would immediately think of the coats of skin of Gen. iii. 21, which some Fathers interpreted mystically as referring to νέκρωσις or liability to death which the human nature

[1] Or, thou hast removed.

incurred at the Fall, and which the baptized were supposed to lay aside at baptism. It is possible that Gen. iii. 21, might be the ultimate source of the Odist's inspiration; we say nothing either for or against this view, except that in the mind of the writer or the translator of the Odes there was no indebtedness to any known version of the Bible (certainly not the Peshiṭta), where the word for *coats* is utterly different from that used in the Odes for *raiment*. Let us now examine the question with reference to some other passages of the Odes.

Ode XXI, 3, has:—

> And I put off darkness
> And clothed myself with light.

Ode XXIII, 12 has:—

> And they who have put me on (the perfect virgin)
> Shall not be injured.

The idea, therefore, of putting on light and a virgin is in harmony with the Odist's way of thinking, however strange we may consider the notion of putting on a virgin to be. Gen. iii. 21 is obviously of no avail here. To square v. 8 of Ode XXV with the above and with some other passages of the Odes we appealed to other quarters. In the doctrine of Bardaisan, as exposed by Ephrem, we found many allusions to the putting on of "raiment of skin," side by side with putting on of light and putting off of darkness, both reinforced by putting on and off of a virgin. The identity of ideas and even of phraseology between the Odist and Bardaisan was so striking that we deemed it more than useful to refer to the latter's theory on the subject of raiment of skin. Why Bernard takes objection to our reference to Bardaisan is a mystery to me; still more inexplicable is to me his reproach in this connection that we did not quote anything to show that Bardaisan or the Manichaeans made use of the phrase "coats of skin" from Gen. iii. 21, which to him is the real point at issue (p. 296). Does he mean to say that as long as Bardaisan is not explicitly naming Gen. iii. 21 as the source of his doctrine concerning the raiment of skin, the virgin-light, the putting on and off of light and darkness, and of the virgin, his testimony is of no value in the matter?

The above are some specimens of Bernard's recent investigations in the field of the Odes. I think that if he had started to study the subject afresh, not in the light of his ancient views on the matter, but independently, and if he had made use of the new translation, and

especially of the concordance placed at the end of our second volume, he would have been convinced that everything in the Odes does not refer to baptism. His ancient comparative apparatus of the Odes and Ephrem's baptismal hymns seems also to me to be in some places over-fledged and arbitrary, and it will certainly so appear to all those who have learned Ephrem's baptismal hymns by heart from their school days. If Bernard has the courage to waive the absolutely inadmissible claim that *everything* in the Odes refers to baptism, and if he limits it to its right dimensions, viz. that the Odes contain *some* baptismal allusions, we will be able to meet him half-way, and then a great step towards the right understanding of the Odes will have been made. Will Bernard have that courage?

In a future number of the BULLETIN we propose to continue our discussion of the current criticism of the Odes by other scholars.

HAND-LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1908-1920.

By ROBERT FAWTIER, Agrégé d'histoire, Ancien Membre de L'École Française de Rome, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

THE manuscripts dealt with in the present hand-list to the number of 149, represent the additions to the Latin section of the Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library which have been acquired since 1908.

More elaborate descriptions of the items included are in active preparation, and will furnish the subject matter of the third volume of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts* . . . of which the first two volumes, compiled by Dr. M. R. James, will be published shortly. It is feared, however, that some time must elapse before the third volume can be placed in the hands of the printer, in consequence of the constantly increasing cost of printing, and for that reason it has been thought desirable, in the meantime, to issue in the present form some brief description of the contents of the various volumes, for the information of scholars who may be interested in this department of research.

Although many of these MSS. have been acquired through the medium of the trade and other agencies, it has been possible to ascribe a great part of them to the following sources :—

(*a*) The library of Sir Thomas Phillipps : Nos. 188 [Ph. 445], 189 [Ph. 1245], 194 [Ph. 765], 200 [Ph. 599], 213 [Ph. 13567], 214 [Ph. 3874 and 13556], 215 [Ph. 8139], 219 [Ph. 6478], 220-221 [Ph. 8135], 222 [Ph. 6478], 223 [Ph. 21708], 227 [Ph. 15734 and 16909], 228 [Ph. 25136], 229 [Ph. 31957], 242 [Ph. 1317], 243 [Ph. 20098], 249 [Ph. 26076], 250 [Ph. 25387], 253 [Ph. 29791], 255 [Ph. 9617].

(*b*) The library of Mr. George Dunn, of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead, Bucks : Nos. 190, 193, 199, 203, 204, 206, 211, 216, 217.

(*c*) The Library of Lord Vernon : Nos. 198, 209.

(*d*) The royal account-books contained in Nos. 230-241 were acquired from Major Heneage, Coker Court, near Yeovil, Somerset. Evidently they came into the possession of the Heneage family through either Thomas Heneage, a vice-chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household and a treasurer of the Queen's chamber, or his brother, Michael Heneage, both having been at the same time Keepers of the Records in the Tower of London.

(*e*) The group which we designate as the *Squire MSS.* (Nos. 224, 252, 258-332) was found in the vault of a solicitor's office in Lincoln's Inn. The fact that they fall into three series of 22, 28, and 26 MSS. respectively, and that amidst many transcripts of records preserved at the time in the Tower and other repositories we find such early manuscripts as Nos. 224 and 252, seems to indicate that we have here a collection, and very likely a complete one, made by some antiquary.

The covers of seven MSS. (No. 289, 290, 291, 294, 316, 317, 322) bear the coat of arms of the Squire family, two of these add to the coat of arms the initials S.S., various other MSS. of the collection contain sundry notes concerning Scipio Squire, his house in Long Acre, his wife Elizabeth, etc. We are justified therefore in ascribing if not the whole, at least the original nucleus of this collection to Scipio Squire, a vice-chamberlain of the Treasury of the Exchequer in the time of Kings James I and Charles I, who seems to have acquired some fame as a genealogist,[1] but whose name will be remembered chiefly as that of the man through whom William Dugdale obtained access to the Domesday Book and to other records such as the Fines and the Plea-Rolls.

Scipio Squire is not well known. The *Dictionary of National Biography* does not record his name, and the little information we have been able to collect does not throw great light on his life. May we hope that the hint we are able to give will induce some scholar to

[1] He is quoted in a note on the Doddridges in *Miscellanea Genealogic et Heraldica*, ed. W. B. Bannerman, 4th series, vol. v. London, 1914, 8vo, p. 263.

look into the records of the Exchequer and give us some account of his public career.

He was born in 1579,[1] very likely in Devon at King's Nympton, the son of Edmund Squire of King's Nympton, third son of George Squire of Leyhall (co. Staffs.), and Martha, second daughter of Mark Slader of Bath (co. Devon).[2] When eighteen years old he left his family home, and with the blessing of both his parents started for London. He entered New Inn and was a student there for four years. In 1603 he was introduced to Sir John Doddridge, one of his countrymen, and when this lawyer, whose lectures he had perhaps attended at New Inn, was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1612, young Squire became his Marshal. In November, 1620, he

[1] Lat. MS. 306, fo. 2.

7 December 1597. Memorandum that the 7th of December 1597 being Thursday and in the 18th yeare of mine age I took my leave with my father and mother's blessing and came that night to Exeter whence I departed on Saterdaie the nynte of December and came to London on Fridaie the 15th of the same December and was enterteined in Essex House the 18th of December followeng a°. 1597 being Mondaie and remayned there untill the 25th of November 1598 being Satterdaie. And so remained of myself till Fridaie the 16th of January 1598 [n.s. 1599] when I came to Neu Inne where I remained foure yeares and from thence, in the first yeare of King James, I was presented to Mr. Justice Doddridge with whom I remayned his marshall till he died which was in September 1628. Notwystanding I came to serve the King James about November 1620. He suffred me to enjoy the marshallship in a most free waie.

[2] Lat. MS. 313, fo. 140. Pedigree of the Slader family.

Mark Slader of Bath in comitatu Devonense + Katherine, daughter of Alexander Wood of Ashrudge in Nathtawton.

Edmund Le Squyer + Martha, 2nd daughter and coheire of Kings Nympton in Devon, 3rd son of Georg Squyer of Leyhall in comitatu Staffordiae Esq.

Scipio Le Squyer, eldest son, Vice-chamberlen of the Exchequer. + Frauncis, 3rd daughter of Sir Hugh Brawne of Newington Butts in comitatu Surreyae, Knight, and of Alescote in comitatu Gloucestriae, sister of Sir Richard Brawne.

John Squyer, eldest son, died etatis unius anni et amplius, died young.

George Squyer, 2nd son etatis 3 anni 1623, of the Inner Temple, etatis 21, anno 1641.

Francis Squyer and Bethsheba
1st daughter 2nd daughter

entered the King's service, very likely in the Exchequer office, but retained the Marshalship of Mr. Justice Doddridge till the latter's death in 1628.[1] In 1631 we find him called before the Commissioners for Buildings in connection with a house he was erecting to dwell in in Long Acre "on the north side over against Covent Garden".[2] In April, 1632, the house was built and Scipio Squire moved in, at least, this was the time at which he moved his books and put them on the shelves of his new study, writing at the same time a catalogue of them, which is preserved in one of our MSS.[3] The catalogue shows us that Scipio Squire was a very broad-minded man of many interests. On the shelves of his study the poets were neighbours of the philosophers and of the old chronicles as well as of divines and mathematicians. Some of the Shakespeare quartos were there, of which one (not in the catalogue) has survived, the *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, which was for some time in the Huth Library, and which bears on the title-page the name of Scipio Squire and the date, 3 May, 1609.[4]

Some time before this removal Squire had suffered a loss in the person of his wife Francis, daughter of Sir Hugh Brawne of Newington

[1] See page 188, note 1.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I*, 1631-1633.

P. 44. Information of Edward Corbett, respecting a large building of bricks begun to be erected in Long Acre, on the north side over against Covent Garden by Scipio Squire of St. Martin's-in-the-field, upon a new foundation contrary to the proclamation (14 May, 1631).

P. 58. Certificate delivered to the Commissioners for Buildings to be presented to the Council, describing certain new buildings now in process of erection, one in Long Acre by Scipio Squire, the other . . . (25 May, 1631).

P. 75. Sir Henry Spiller, Lawrence Whitaker, and Inigo Jones, Justices of Peace for Middlesex to the Council. The building of Mr. Scipio Squire newly erected in Long Acre, he states to be built for himself to dwell in. It is built of bricks and contains 24 feet by 32, there being a piece of ground inclosed with a brick wall and planted with fruit trees containing an acre adjoining, whereby the same is made a fit habitation for a person of quality. Squire denies that it is built on a new foundation (13 June, 1631).

State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1633-1634.

P. 434. Notes by Sec. Windebank of proceedings before the Commissioners for Buildings. . . . Mr. Squire submits (27 Jan., 1634).

[3] Lat. MS. 319, fol. 103-110. "A kalender of my bookes taken the 4th of Aprill, 1632, when I sett them up in my study in Longacre."

[4] *The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts.* . . . London, 1880, 8vo, t. iv., p. 1339.

Butts (co. Surrey) and Alescott (co. Gloucester), whose books he catalogued in a separate part.[1] Of this marriage he had issues: John, who died when a little more than a year old, George, who entered the Inner Temple, and two daughters Francis and Bethsheba.[2] Scipio Squire married again, for we know that in August, 1656, he bought for his wife Elizabeth "a diamond knot, 60 diamonds" for £38, and some other jewels.[3] That he could spend such a large sum for jewels would suffice to show that he was wealthy, even if we did not know that Sir Hugh Pollard owed to him in 1650 the sum of £2000.[4]

His name appears twice in what is published of William Dugdale's correspondence: once in 1650 in a letter of Dugdale to William Vernonn,[5] another in 1653 in a letter of Sir Symon Archer to Dugdale.[6] The latter, in his autobiography, has recorded the kindness showed to him by Scipio Squire, to whom he had been introduced by

[1] Lat. MS. 319, fol. 103b, col. 1. "Books that my dead wife left."

[2] See page 188, note 2.

[3] Latin MS. 306, fol. 2. "25° Feb, 1557. A copy of Mr. Locs' note directed to my wife."

Aug. 12, 1656. Sold to Mrs. Squire a diamond knot, 60 diamonds for 38l., to be paid within 3 months.

Feb. 28, 1656. Added more to the penlock with the rosse 6l.

Aug. 12, 1656. Rd. XIIl. in payment of XXl. Eliz. Squire.

Octob. 6, 1656. Rd. part of this bill Vl. More No. 10th 56.

[4] *State Papers, Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*, etc., 1643-1660. Part. II., p. 128 *f.*

Sir Hugh Pollard, Bart., King's Nympton, Devon.

Claimants on the Estate:—

28 Aug., 1650. Scipio le Squire begs to compound for debts of £2000, owing him by Sir H. Pollard, who has long "borne him in hand" that he would compound for his delinquency and pay petitioner his debt.

The Pollard and the Squire families were related. Cf. *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the year* 1564, ed. F. T. Colby. Exeter, 1881. 8vo, pp. 190-191.

[5] *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. W. Hamper. London, 1827, 4to.

P. 237 (Letter LV), June 22, 1650. . . . "I perceive that you imagine your copye of Domesday not perfect, but if you did know as much as I, you would not impute the faulte to Mr. Squyer, for I carefully examined it with him. . . ."

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 273 (Letter LXXXI), Nov. 28, 1653. . . . "You may doe well to respit the searching of Catisby's writinges untill the vacation, and then if Mr. Squyer will not be reasonable, I will endevour to have a copy out of Mr. Greene's indenture."

Mr. Roper, in giving him access to the records preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer and of which, we may presume, Scipio Squire was the keeper.[1] We do not know when he became a vice-chamberlain of the Exchequer. The fact that in 1656 we find a Justice of Peace of the City of Westminster acting in two weddings in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden (the church of an inhabitant of Long Acre), bearing the name of Scipio le Squire allows us to invest our antiquary with this new dignity.[2] This is the last information we can find concerning him. That a letter addressed to a Mr. Scipio le Squire at his house in Long Acre in June, 1682, is to be found in one of our MSS.[3] can scarcely lead us to believe that our Scipio Squire was still living. We prefer to advance the theory that of his second marriage he had a son named after him.

It is difficult to state in this collection how much is Scipio Squire's and how much is derived from some other source. Some manuscripts like No. 330 are matters of serious difficulty. We shall endeavour to deal with them in the fuller catalogue ; all we have attempted to do for the present is to throw some light on the original owner of a rather large section of the new accessions.

The manuscripts have been classified according to their contents. For each manuscript we have given the title, when there is one, found in the manuscript itself. When no title is given, we have assigned one to indicate their content as briefly as possible. The number [R . . .] is the accession number, the second number is the Latin MSS. number. When a further number is given in brackets [ ], it is the number that was assigned to the manuscript before any attempt at classification was made. These particulars have been included in case scholars who have had access to the collection already may have quoted them by their old number.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 12. "So likewise was he [W. Dugdale] introduced by the sayd Mr. Roper into the acquaintance of Mr. Scipio Squyer, then one of the vice-chamberlains of the Exchequer, through whose kindness, and favour he had accesse to that venerable Record called Domesday Booke, as also to the Fines, Plea-rolls, and sundry other records remayning in the Treasury there."

[2] *The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London.* II. Marriages, 1653-1837, ed. W. H. Hunt. London, 1907, 8vo. (Harleian Society, vol. xxx.), pp. 37-38.

[3] Inserted in Latin MS. 319.

HOLY SCRIPTURE AND COMMENTARIES.

[R. 45317] 184. Biblia sacra.
Vell. 550 ll. 117·5 × 78 mm. xivth cent. France.

[R. 32826] 185. Thomas Wallensis. In Isaiam liber commentarius.
Vell. 8 ll. 203 × 139 mm. xivth cent. England.

LITURGY.

[R. 33761] 186 [190]. Missale Eboracense—Missale Lincolniense.
Vell. 168 ll. 291 × 199 mm. xii-xivth cent. England.

[R. 48224] 187. Pontificale Romanum parvum.
Vell. 34 ll. 155 × 108 mm. xvth cent. France.

[R. 45191] 188. (Phillipps. 445.) Breviarium Praemonstratense.
Vell. 276 ll. 118 × 84 mm. xvth cent. Germany.

[R. 45189] 189. (Phillipps. 1249.) Collectaneum Cisterciense.
Vell. 123 ll. 239 × 170 mm. xivth cent. France or Switzerland.

[R. 40338] 190. Liturgica Cisterciensia.
Regulae generales divinum celebrandi officium.—Collectaneum.—Forma Baptizandi.—Directorium.
Pap. 130 ll. 143 × 95 mm. 1652. Germany.

[R. 32526] 191. Horae (Sarum).
Vell. 133 ll. 183 × 128 mm. xvth cent. England.
Flemish school miniatures.

[R. 45316] 192. Beda. De tabernaculis et vasis et vestibus sacerdotis.
Vell. 94 ll. 186 × 128 mm. xiiith cent. England.

[R. 33826] 193. Libellus de computo ecclesiastico.
Inc. Cum inter cetera scolaris disciplinae studia. . . .
Imperfect at the end and bound in disorder.
Vell. 59 ll. 171 × 122 mm. xiiith cent. France (?).

THEOLOGY AND ASCETICS.

[R. 26214] 194 [247]. (Phillipps. 765.) Isidori opera et S. Bernardi vita.
A letter of Isidorus to Bp. Masona.—Isidorus. De Summo Bono.—Isidorus. Synonima.
A collection of theological quotations.
S. Bernardi Clarevallensis vita (prima).
Vell. 143 ll. 350 × 225 mm. xivth cent. France (Abbaye de Royaumont).

[R. 48220] 195. [S. Anselmus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus.] Humilis et vera confessio et devota meditatio et oratio penitentis psalmum quinquagesimum exponendo.
[Wrongly ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor by the MS.]
Vell. 22 ll. 213 × 148 mm. xvth cent. France.

[R. 36437] 196. Walter Daniel. Centum sententiae et sermones.
Vell. 45 ll. 252 × 156 mm. xii-xiiith cent. England (Abbey of Rievaulx).

[R. 35253] 197. Petrus de Tarentasia. Super libros III et IV Sententiarum.

Vell. 285 ll. 242 × 166 mm. xivth cent. France (Amiens ?).

[R. 44706] 198. Laurentius Opimus. Super Sententias.

Vell. and pap. 171 ll. 288 × 217 mm. xivth cent. Italy.

[R. 38270] 199. Donatus Devotionis cum quatuor conjugationibus de regula bene viventiam.

Inc. Prol. Sine intercessione orate. Evangelica clamat historia. . . . *Text.* Partes orationis quot sunt? Octo. Quae? Devotio. . . . *des.* . . . A saeculo placuerunt et in saecula saeculorum laudabunt cui debetur omnis laus, etc. Explicit Donatus devotionis cum quatuor conjugationibus de regula bene vivere volentium compilatus a quodam claustrali, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo.

Vell. 131 ll. 242 × 162 mm. xvth cent. England (?).

[R. 42406] 200. (Phillipps, 599.) Hubertinus de Casali. Arbor crucifixae vitae Jesu.

Pap. 455 ll. 288 × 199 mm. xvth cent. Low Countries.

[R. 39882] 201. Miscellanea.

(fol. 5b) Contenta in ista volumina:

In primo septem petitiones orationis dominicae secundum Johannem Waldeby;

Tractatus super 12 articulos fidei secundum eumdem Johannem Waldeby;

Quinque omiliae super quinque verba salutationis angelicae secundum fratrem Johannem ordinis heremitarum beati Augustini [John Waldeby];

Liber exemplorum magistri Jacobi de Vitriaco;

Tractatus de vitiis et virtutibus qui dicitur scrutator viciorum et de remedio contra peccata mortalia [Robert Grosseteste];

Tractatus de 10 mandatis.

The MS. also contains some fragments in English (a prophecy, a medical receipt) and a short quotation of Henry de Costesey's *De utilitate psalmorum daviticorum.*

Pap. and vell. 250 ll. 212 × 145 mm. xivth cent. England.

[R. 44790] 202. Miscellanea Franciscana.

Franciscus de Platea. Tractatus usurarum.—S. Bonaventura. Meditatio de quatuor exerciis mentalibus.—Pius et devotum exercitium divinitus edoctum de centum doloribus Christi et Virginis.—Versus de Passione Christi.—Decem precepta decalogi secundum dominum Franciscum Mayronem, O.M.—Tractatus usurarum editus per . . . Johannem de Prato, O.M.—Tractatus domini Bartoli de duobus fratribus.—Additiones factae ad idem per dominum Baldum de Perusio, de hiis quae expendit filius circa patrimonium patris.

Vell. 171 ll. 123 × 88 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 33818/1] 203. Miscellanea.

Alcuinus. De virtutibus et vitiis.—De XII lapidibus pretiosis qui ponuntur in fundamento celestis Jerusalem. *Inc.* Jaspis primus ponitur . . . *des* . . . Christum filium Dei et Sanctum Stephanum.—Crisostomus. De naturis bestiarum.—Fragments of Hugh of St. Victor's *Miscellanea*.—Liber beati Cypriani de duodecim abusionibus.—Filia Magistri.—Breviloquium bonae fortunae (St. Bonaventure).

Vell. 319 ll. 170 × 124 mm. xii-xvth cent. N. France. (Abbaye de Cambron). xvth cent. French binding.

[R. 33818/2] 204. Miscellanea.

Sermones (Geoffroy Babion, Hildebert de Lavardin, Hugh of St. Victor).—Liber Sponsa.—Honoré d'Autun. Speculum Ecclesiae.—Magister Hugo. De Trinitate.—Sermones (Garnier de Rochefort)—Glosae hebraicae-latinae.—S. Salonii. Expositio mystica in Salomonis parabola.—A dialogue between Nature and Providence. *Inc.* Congeries in-formis . . . *des* . . . et sulphuris recognovit.—An imperfect (at the beginning) treatise on Moon, Man, and the World. *des* . . . transformabilis ex usiis substantialibus.

Vell. 266 ll. 170 × 117 mm. xiii-xvth cent. N. France. (Abbaye de Cambron. xvth cent. French binding.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

[R. 32957] 205. Miscellanea.

Part of a treatise on Cosmogony.—A fragment of Isidorus of Sevilla's *Etymologiæ*—De purgatorio S. Patricii.—The legend of Adam's penance.—An explanation of the Origin of Tithes.—Summary and abstracts from Isidorus *Questiones in Genesim*.—The legend of Gerbert taken from William of Malmesbury.—Petrus Alphonsus. Disciplina clericalis.—Accounts of Peter de Gonneville, a cannon of Salisbury for the years 1303-1310.

Vell. 64 ll. 176 × 134 mm. xiiith cent. England.

[R. 33827] 206. Alexander de Villa Dei. Doctrinale.

Vell. 46 ll. 279 × 200 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 48219] 207. Ebrardus [of Bethune]. Graecismus.

Pap. 65 ll. 217 × 142 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 44247] 208. Appollonius Rhodius. Argonautica translata per V. Rothmarum.

Pap. 126 ll. 236 × 165 mm. xviiith cent. Germany.

[R. 44707] 209. Nonius Marcellus. De compendiosa doctrina.

Vell. 136 ll. 287 × 213 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 33991] 210. Petrus Riga. Aurora.

Vell. 174 ll. 153 × 84 mm. xvth cent. France.

[R. 33825] 211. Miscellanea.

Oratio Ysocratis quomodo rex se habebit penes subditos, ex graeco in latino traducta (by Leonardo Giustiniani of Venice).—Plutarchus. De liberis educandis (translated by Guarino of Verona).—St. Basil. ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥΣ (latin translation by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo).

Vell. 42 ll. 215 × 145 mm. 1445. Theodoric the son of Nicholas Werken de Abbenbroek. Oxford (?) xvth cent. binding (covers only).

[R. 26223] 212 [251]. (Phillipps. 8099.) Catalogus librorum totius provinciae.

A collection of catalogues of franciscan libraries in Austria in 1647.

Pap. 229 ll. 191 × 151 mm. 1647. Austria.

HISTORY.

[R. 26226] 213 [254]. (Phillipps. 13567.) Martinus Polonus. Chronicon.

Vell. 79 ll. 229 × 168 mm. xivth cent. France.

[R. 26227] 214 [255]. (Phillipps. 3874. 13556.) Itinerarium Imperatoris Alemaniae, Regis Franciae et Ricardi Regis Angliae.

Vell. 160 ll. 178 × 112 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England.

[R. 26231] 215 [259]. (Phillipps. 8139.) Annales Wigemorenses—Chronicon Angliae (Latin Brut).

Vell. 70 ll. 259 × 184 mm. 1382 1437. England.

[R. 33822]. 216. Galfridus Monumentensis. Historia regum Britanniae.

Vell. 75 ll. 217 × 142 mm. xiiith cent. England.

[R. 33824] 217. Ranulphus Higden. Polychronicon.

Vell. 210 ll. 263 × 203 mm. circa et ante 1431, "scriptum per fratrem Stephanum Lawles, suppriorem hujus monasterii (Chester)". England.

[R. 33823] 218. Ranulphus Higden. Polychronicon.

Vell. 122 ll. 299 × 200 mm. xvth cent. England.

[R. 26225] 219 [253] (Phillipps. 6478.) Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa (Meaux, Yorks).

Pap. 177 ll. 288 × 217 mm. 1388-1396. England.

[R. 26212] 220-221 [244-245]. (Phillipps. 8135.) Chartularium Monasterii S. Mariae Eboracensis (St. Mary, York).

Vell. 417 ll. 300 × 229 mm. xiv-xvth cent. England.

[R. 33810] 222. (Phillipps. 21710.) Chartularium Prioratus de Bredon (co. Leicester).

Vell. 77 ll. 300 × 225 mm. xiii-xvith cent. England.

[R. 26230] 223 [258]. (Phillipps. 21708.) Chartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae de Sartis in Wardon (co. Bedford).

Vell. 110 ll. 223 × 168 mm. xiii-xvth cent. England.

[R. 38978] 224. (Squire. Ser. III. vol. 10.) Chartularium Abbatiae S. Mariae de Fontibus (Fountains Abbey, Yorks).

(The fifth volume of the Fountain Abbey's Chartulary of which two are preserved in the British Museum. Cotton. Tib. C. XII and Add. 37770.)

Vell. 420 ll. 310 × 221 mm. xvth cent. England. xvith cent. binding (English).

[R. 32959] 225. Chartularium de Tockwith (Yorks).

A collection of transcripts concerning the cell of Skewkirke in the township of Tockwith and the chapel of All Souls, a dependance of St. Oswald Priory, Nostell.

Pap. 32 ll. 312 × 210 mm. xvith cent. England.

[R. 32547] 226. Willelmus Bateman, Norwicensis Episcopus. Injunctiones ad clericos.

Vell. 10 ll. 143 × 205 mm. 1347. England.

[R. 26224] 227 [252]. (Phillipps. 15734-16909). Miscellanea.

Anonymous treatise or speech and an answer to it on the divorce of King Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon.—Letters patent of King Henry VIII reconstituting the late monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury.—Grant by King Henry VIII to the dean and chapter of Canterbury of lands, rents and pensions. May 23, 1541.—A collection of charters (1426, 1427, 1454) being a book of forms.

Pap. 69 ll. 312 × 215 mm. xvith cent. England.

[R. 26213] 228 [246]. (Phillipps. 25136.) Miscellanea.

John of Kirkby's Inquest for the Honour of Richmond (Yorks.).—Poetical fragments and goliardic verses.—Extracts of patristic literature.—Itineraries to Palestine.—A commentary of the prophecy ascribed to John of Bridlington.—A form-book of accountancy.—A treatise of pharmacopea (in English).

Vell. and Pap. 142 ll. 215 × 140 mm. xvth cent. England.

[R. 26220] 229. (Phillipps. 31957.) Wardrobe Book of Edward I.

Wilhelmo de Meltone et Thomae de Querle, clericis, pro denariis per ipsos solutis de denariis receptis in Garderoba anno presenti vicesimo septimo diversis hominibus subscriptis, pro denariis debitis eisdem in eadem Garderoba, de compoto ejusdem Garderobae reddito ad Scaccarium de annis regni regis E. XXIV^to^, XXV^to^, XXVI^to^. De quibus denariis sic solutis nulla fit mentio in libro de debitis Garderobae de eodem compoto nec etiam de eisdem sic debitis pro eo quod ante predictum compotum clausum ad Scaccarium, iidem denarii subtrahebantur penes eosdem quibus debebantur, et tamen in libris Garderobae cotidianis de tempore predicto fit mentio de eisdem denariis sic solutis et subtractis suis locis videlicet. . . .

Vell. 8 ll. 327 × 219 mm. 1298. England.

[R. 47998] 230. Recepta Garderobae regis Edwardi de anno regni sui vicesimo secundo : XXII : Recepta. Anno XXII^do^.

Vell. 6 ll. 324 × 198 mm. 1293-1294.

[R. 47999] 231. Liber contrarotulatoris de recepta Garderobae de anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici XXVIII° tempore domini Johannis de Droken[ford] custodis ejusdem.

Vell. 8 ll. 317 × 207 mm. 1299-1300.

[R. 48000] 232. Fragment of an account book of the Household of King Edward I concerning advances of money and payments of wages to various persons, probably in the 30th year of his reign.

Vell. 12 ll. 326 × 214 mm. 1302 (?).

[R. 48001] 233. A fragment of account book of the royal household concerning the expenses of William Cope buyer for the Great Kitchen in the 10th year of the reign (of Edward III ?).

Vell. 2 ll. 386 × 272 mm. xivth cent.

[R. 48002] 234. Compotus Thomae de Tettebur, clerici magnae Garderobae reginae Philippae [Philippa of Hainault, Queen of Edward III] de anno quarto.

Vell. 35 ll. 339 × 250 mm. 1330-1331.

[R. 48003] 235. Liber necessariorum domini Johannis de Amewell, contrarotulatoris hospicii dominae reginae Philippae [Philippa of Hainault] de anno quinto.

Vell. 56 ll. 339 × 236 mm. 1331-1332.

[R. 48004] 236. Compotus Willelmi de Fferiby, cofferarii dominae Philippae [Philippa of Hainault] reginae Angliae, onerati in capite de omnibus receptis et expensis dicti hospicii pro domino Johanne Coke, thesaurario prefatae reginae, ac etiam de omnibus jocalibus, vessellamentis et omnibus aliis proficiis ad dictum hospicium quovismodo pertinentibus, a primo die Aprilis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Angliae tricesimo primo usque primum diem Aprilis anno XXXII°, per unum annum integrum, per contrarotulamentum domini Roberti de Greyk, contrarotulatoris ejusdem.

Vell. 12 ll. 328 × 249 mm. 1357-1358.

[R. 48005] 237. Part of an account-book of the household of Queen Philippa of Hainault for the 31st year of Edward III, giving the following items: Nomina creditorum panetriae.—Nomina creditorum cervisiae.—Nomina creditorum coquinae.—Nomina creditorum pulletriae.—Nomina creditorum scutilliriae.—Nomina creditorum salseriae.—Nomina creditorum aulae et camerae.—Nomina creditorum marescalsciae.

Vell. 36 ll. 321 × 247 mm. 1357-1358.

[R. 48006] 238. Account Book of the household (in form of a diary) of Queen Joan of Navarre (widow of King Henry IV) at Leeds Castle (Kent), from Sunday, the 17th of March, 1420, to Friday, the 7th of March, 1421.

Vell. 28 ll. 370 × 263 mm. 1420-1421.

[R. 48007] 239. Necessaries for the Queene Consort [Katharine of Aragon, Queen of Henry VIII] and the Princess, her daughter [Princess Mary] delivered out of the Wardrobe anno XI and XII of H. VIII.

Two account books or parts of them bound under the same cover, the first being the accounts of Elys Hylton, the second of Richard Justice.

Pap. 20 ll. (Fol. 1-6) 310 × 216 mm. (Fol. 7-20) 347 × 245 mm. 1520.

[R. 48008] 240. Account Book of the receipts and expenses of the officers of the King in Calais, Guines, Arde [Ardres], Merk [Marck], Oye, Oudrewyk [Audruicq] and Bradenard [Bredenarde] for the 45th and 46th years of King Edward III.

Vell. 14 ll. 350 × 246 mm. 1371-1372.

[R. 48009] 241. Compotus Hugonis Conwey, militis, thesaurarii villae et marchiae Calisiae, computus a ffesto sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis nunc Henrici VII^mi^ XXI^o^ usque ffestum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno ejusdem regis XXII^o^, per unum annum integrum *ut infra*.

Hunc librum continentem XXXIII folia, quarum XXIX sunt scriptae et IIII non sunt scriptae, liberavit Hugo Conway, miles thesaurarius villae Calisiae, Johanni Clerk et Roberto Cliff, auditoribus domini Regis, in previgilia Pentecostis, accidente XXI^mo^ die Maii Anno XXII^do^ regis Henrici VII^mi^ et in presentia Roberti Southwell militis, et prestitit sacramentum.

Vell. 33 ll. 483 × 333 mm. 1506.

[R. 45953] 242. (Phillipps. 1317.) Compotus Thesauri domini Regis parisius, de termino Nativitatis Domini anno MCCCIIII^xx^ IIII^to^, videlicet a prima die Julii CCCIIII^xx^ IIII^to^ usque ad ultimam diem Decembris post inclusive, per thesaurarios Philippum de Sancto Petro, Reginaldum de Capella, Nicolaum de Mauregart et Nicolaum de Fontenayo, clericum Thesauri Robertum de Acheriis, ac campsorem ibi Petrum de Suessione.

Vell. 47 ll. 310 × 264 mm. 1384. France.

[R. 23214] 243. (Phillipps. 20098.) Fines and Sheriff's precipes.

A collection of 183 original precipes on vellum relating to various counties, for the greatest part from Henry VI to Elizabeth, sewn on paper leaves.

Pap. 32 ll. 335 × 204 mm.

[R. 38460. 4/4] 244. Hibernia. Conatia et Ultonia provinciae. Officium Clerici Pellium.

Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et pro licentia vendendae allae cumque subsidio, receptorum in scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festum Paschae anno Domini 1622, regni Regis Jacobi XX^ti^.

Pap. 54 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.

[R. 38460 4/1] 245. Hibernia. Conatia et Ultonia provinciae.
Officium clerici Pellium.
Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et auxiliorum receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festam sancti Michaelis Archangeli in annis videlicet Domini 1622 et Regni Regis Jacobi XX^ti.
Pap. 116 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.

[R. 38460 4/2] 246. Hibernia. Lagenia et Momonia provinciae.
Officium clerici Pellium.
Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et pro licentia vendendae allae, receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festum Paschae anno Domini 1622, regni regis Jacobi XX^ti.
Pap. 101 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.

[R. 38460 4/3] 247. Hibernia. Lagenia et Momonia provincie.
Officium clerici Pellium.
Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et auxiliorum receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festam sancti Michaelis Archangeli in annis videlicet Domini 1622 et regni Regis Jacobi XX^ti.
Pap. 116 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.

[R. 28513] 248. Statuta Ecclesiae S. Pauli Londinensis.
A modern transcript of MS. W.D. 20 of St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London.
Pap. 225 ll. 332 × 203 mm. 1870. England.

[R. 45389] 249. (Phillipps. 26076.) Saviliana.
A book of transcripts chiefly concerning the manor of Methley (Yorks), seat of the Savile Family.
Vell. 94 ll. 285 × 163 mm. xvith cent. England.

[R. 45390] 250. (Phillipps. 25387.) Saviliana.
A collection of transcripts concerning the Savile Family amongst which a biographical notice on Sir John Savile, Baron of the Exchequer.
Vell. and pap. 102 ll. 371 × 274 mm. xvi-xviith cent. England. xvith cent. binding (English).

[R. 32959] 251. Yorkshire deeds.
A collection of transcripts concerning the lands of the Wilstrop Family.
Pap. 121 ll. 312 × 210 mm. xvth-xvith cent. England.

[R. 38961] 252. (Squire. Ser. III, vol. 11.) Statuta vetera et nova.
Vell. 281 ll. 250 × 161 mm. xvth cent. England.

[R. 26219] 253 [249]. (Phillipps. 29791.) Statuta Angliae.
Vell. 51 ll. 247 × 169 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England.

[R. 33893] 254. Statuta Angliae.
Vell. 71 ll. 114 × 83 mm. xivth cent. England.

[R. 45949] 255. (Phillipps. 9617.) Statuta et registrum Brevium Edwardi I.

Vell. and pap. 240 ll. 220 × 138 mm. xivth cent. England.

[R. 37270] 256. Statuta Angliae.

Vell. 200 ll. 153 × 105 mm. xiv-xvith cent. England.

[R. 32958] 257. Placita parlamentaria et Coronae Edwardi I.

Vell. 65 ll. 334 × 248 mm. xivth cent. England.

SQUIRE MSS.

[R. 38903] 258. (Ser. I. vol. 1.) Buckinghamshire. Placita de quo warranto, de juris et assisis et Coronae. Anno 14. Edw. I.

Pap. 94 ll. 370 × 230 mm.

[R. 38904] 259. (Ser. I. vol. 2.) Devonshire and Cornwall. Close Rolls. 1 John-35 H. III.

Pap. 390 ll. 348 × 220 mm.

[R. 38905] 260. (Ser. I. vol. 3.) Devonshire and Cornwall. Fines rolls. 1 R. I-23 E. IV.

Pap. 128 ll. 352 × 215 mm.

[R. 38906] 261. (Ser. I. vol. 4.) Devonshire. Inquisitiones post mortem et ad quod damnum. 2 R. II-10 H. V.

Pap. 184 ll. 346 × 234 mm.

[R. 38907] 262. (Ser. I. vol. 5.) Devonshire. Inquisitiones post mortem et ad quod damnum. 1 H. VI-3. R. III.

Pap. 219 ll. 331 × 210 mm.

[R. 38908] 263. (Ser. I. vol. 6.) Devonshire. Calendar of records. 12 H. III-2 R. III.

Pap. 97 ll. 304 × 200.

[R. 38909] 264. (Ser. I. vol. 7.) Soca de Edulfesnane, in comitatu Essexensi, nuper dicta soca sancti Pauli, London, modo honorabilis viri Thome domini Darcye, domini Darcy de Chiche in comitatu predicta.

Supervisio Thorpe, Kyrkeby et Walton infra socam predictam inchoata et peracta per diligentem visum et perambulationem Johannis Madison, supervisoris ibidem per mandatum prefati honorabilis Thome domini Darcy, modo domini maneriorum et socae predictae, et per sacramentum tenentium maneriorum predictorum ad hoc ordinatorum et juratorum quorum nomina postea recensentur, hinc et ibidem existentium, et cum prefato supervisore quotidie per vices simul circumambulantium, incepta quinta die Augusti, anno regni dominae Elizabethae, Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae reginae, fidei defensoris, etc., tricesimo nono, annoque Domini 1597.

Pap. 524 ll. 307 × 206 mm.

[R. 38910] 265. (Ser. I. vol. 8.) Gloucestershire. Inquisitiones post mortem et Eschaeta. 1 E. II-20 E. II.

Pap. 98 ll. 332 × 210 mm.

[R. 38911] 266. (Ser. I. vol. 9.) Dutchy of Lancaster.
A collection of transcripts concerning the Duchy.
Pap. 121 ll. 309 × 196 mm.

[R. 38912] 267. (Ser. I. vol. 10.) London.
A collection of transcripts of grants of lands in London by Henry VIII 1535-1540.
Pap. 286 ll. 294 × 180 mm.

[R. 38913] 268. (Ser. I. vol. 11.) Statutes of the Savoy Hospital, London. 1523.
Pap. 40 ll. 208 × 159 mm.

[R. 38914] 269. (Ser. I. vol. 12.) Northamptonshire. Estreats. 31 H. III-35 E. I.
Pap. 258 ll. 306 × 200 mm.

[R. 38915] 270. (Ser. I. vol. 13.) Northamptonshire. Eschaeta. 1 E. I-17 E. III.
Pap. 302 ll. 306 × 200 mm.

[R. 38916] 271. (Ser. I. vol. 14.) De Forestis.
Readinge and declaration of the Authorities, liberties and offices of a fforeste made upon a certeine statute called carta de Foresta by one Triherne (in English).
Pap. 76 ll. 304 × 203 mm.

[R. 38917] 272. (Ser. I. vol. 15.) Oxfordshire. Inquisition (1279). Hundreds of Ewelme, Bolenden, Wootton.
Pap. 343 ll. 310 × 200 mm.

[R. 38918] 273. (Ser. I. vol. 16.) Oxfordshire. Inquisition (1279). Hundreds of Poghedelowe, Bampton, Langtree, Lewknor, Chadlington, Oxford "extra porta boreale".
Pap. 375 ll. 310 × 200 mm.

[R. 38919] 274. (Ser. I. vol. 17.) Oswestry. Rentals and surveys of the town of Oswestry.
Pap. 410 ll. 277 × 196 mm.

[R. 38920] 275. (Ser. I. vol. 18.) Miscellanea.
Perambulationes Forestarum. 29 E. I.—Carta Monachorum de Monte Acuto.
Pap. 225 ll. 305 × 203 mm.

[R. 38921] 276. (Ser. I. vol. 19.) Staffordshire. Eschaeta. 1 E. III-13 R. III.
Pap. 337 ll. 306 × 200 mm.

[R. 38922] 277. (Ser. I. vol. 20.) Staffordshire. Visitation of Robert Glover. 1583.
Pap. 66 ll. 340 × 222 mm.

[R. 38923] 278. (Ser. I. vol. 21.) Surrey and Essex. Abstracts of Grants. 27-37 H. VIII.
Pap. 277 ll. 291 × 194 mm

[R. 38924] (Ser. I. vol. 22.) See *Records*.

[R. 38925] 279. (Ser. II. vol. 1.) Charta antiqua tempore Johannis et Henrici III.

Charter rolls Joh.-H. III.—Inventary of some presses in a Record Office (Tower?).—Charter rolls 5 E. I.—Charter rolls 1-4 H. IV.

Pap. 487 ll. 305 × 194 mm.

[R. 38926] 280. (Ser. II. vol. 2.) Charters. 21-35 E. I.

Pap. 363 ll. 306 × 200 mm.

[R. 38927] 281. (Ser. II. vol. 3.) Close rolls. 14 Joh.-37 H. III.

Pap. 406 ll. 306 × 200 mm.

[R. 38928] 282. (Ser. II. vol. 4.) Close rolls. 1-5 H. III.

Pap. 392 ll. 290 × 175 mm.

[R. 38929] 283. (Ser. II. vol. 5.) Close rolls. 19-24 H. III.

Pap. 372 ll. 298 × 192 mm.

[R. 38930] 284. (Ser. II. vol. 6.) Close rolls. 24-33 H. III.

Pap. 510 ll. 300 × 198 mm.

[R. 38931] 285. (Ser. II. vol. 7.) Fines rolls. 1-12 H. III.

Pap. 345 ll. 294 × 184 mm.

[R. 38932] 286. (Ser. II. vol. 8.) Fines rolls. 13-20 H. III.

Pap. 342 ll. 299 × 188 mm.

[R. 38933] 287. (Ser. II. vol. 9.) Dorsetshire, Suffolk, Berkshire, Northamptonshire. Eschaeta. H. III-R. II.

Pap. 591 ll. 311 × 208 mm.

[R. 38934] 288. (Ser. II. vol. 10.) Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Leicestershire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire. Eschaeta. H. III-R. III.

Pap. 374 ll. 311 × 209 mm.

[R. 38935] 289. (Ser. II. vol. 11.) Abstracts of patents. 3 Joh.-20 E. II.

Pap. 202 ll. 340 × 210 mm.

[R. 38936] 290. (Ser. II. vol. 12.) Abstracts of patents. 1 E. III-51 E. III.

Pap. 196 ll. 347 × 219 mm.

[R. 38937] 291. (Ser. II. vol. 13.) Placita ad parlamentum 18-30 E. I. —Abstracts of patents 1 R. II-38 H. VI.

Pap. 278 ll. 357 × 219 mm.

[R. 38938] 292. (Ser. II. vol. 14.) Patent rolls. 32 H. VIII.

Pap. 427 ll. 305 × 201 mm.

[R. 38939] 293. (Ser. II. vol. 15). Patent rolls. 29, 30, 32, 34 H. VIII.

Pap. 545 ll. 308 × 192 mm.

[R. 38940] 294. (Ser. II. vol. 16.) Placita coram Rege, coram concilio Regis et de Banco. 3-56 H. III.
Pap. 158 ll. 350 × 224 mm.

[R. 38941] 295. (Ser. II. vol. 17.) Placita parlamentaria. 18-23 E. I.
Pap. 118 ll. 368 × 235 mm.

[R. 38942] 296. (Ser. II. vol. 18.) Placita parlamentaria. 18-35 E. I.
Pap. 390 ll. 302 × 195 mm.

[R. 38943]. 297. (Ser. II. vol. 19.) Miscellanea.
Ex rotulo ordinationum 5 E. II.—Ex rotulo parlamenti 8 E. II.—Placita parlamentaria 8 E. II.—Memoranda de parlamento 9 E. II.—Processus Hugonis de Courtnay. 8 E. I.—De parlamento regis, 9 E. I.
Pap. 272 ll. 308 × 205 mm.

[R. 38944] 298. (Ser. II. vol. 20.) Rotuli parlamenti. 1-5 R. II.
Pap. 345 ll. 284 × 185 mm.

[R. 38945] 299. (Ser. II. vol. 21.) Rotuli parlamenti. 14-21 R. II.
Pap. 273 ll. 290 × 184 mm.

[R. 38946] 300. (Ser. II. vol. 22.) Law precedents being placita. E. I-R. II.
Pap. 303 ll. 308 × 204 mm.

[R. 38947] 301. (Ser. II. vol. 23.) Rotuli parlamenti. 5 H. V.-6 H. VI.
Pap. 467 ll. 305 × 196 mm.

[R. 38948] 302. (Ser. II. vol. 24.) Abstracts from patent rolls and the red book of Exchequer. 3 H. III-17 R. II.
Pap. 136 ll. 317 × 212 mm.

(Ser. II. vol. 25.) Missing, perhaps to identify with MS. 314 or 315.

[R. 38949] 303. (Ser. II. vol. 26). Placita coram Rege, 1-14 E I.
Pap. 213 ll. 310 × 203 mm

[R. 38950] 304. (Ser. II. vol. 27.) Placita de Banco. 9-34 E. I.
Pap. 189 ll. 342 × 220 mm.

[R. 38951] 305. (Ser. II. vol. 28.) Placita coram Rege. 4-26 E. II.
Pap. 335 ll. 315 × 205 mm.

[R. 38952] 306. (Ser. III. vol. 1.) Miscellanea.
A note of the books in the cheste at Westminster.—De partitione Angliae per comitatus et domibus religiosis in eis contentis.—Modus tenendi parlamentum.
Pap. 117 ll. 348 × 225 mm.

[R. 38953] 307. (Ser. III. vol. 2.) Knight fees. 1 R. III-4 James I.
Pap. 139 ll. 310 × 204 mm.

[R. 38954] 308. (Ser. III. vol. 3.) Miscellanea.
Gervasii Tilberiensis de necessariis Scaccarii observationibus dialogus. —[Sir John Doddridge] The severall opinions of sundry antiquaries touchinge the antiquitie, power, order, state, manner, persons and proceedinges of the High Court of Parliament of England (in English).—De baronibus in parlamento (collected for the Lords of the Upper House of Parliament 20 Jacobi).—England's Epinomis . . . by John Selden.—Modus tenendi parlamentum. —Leges Henrici I transcriptae ex libro rubro Scaccarii, etc.
Pap. 234 ll. 307 × 212 mm.

[R. 38955] 309. (Ser. III. vol. 4.) Liber omnium feodorum militum in comitatu Norfolcensi.—Knight fees. 2-13 E. I.
Pap 89 ll. 286 × 215 mm.

[R. 38956] 310. (Ser. III. vol. 5.) Com. Derby. Tenentes feoda militum et de quibus ipsi tenent.
Pap. 55 ll. 425 × 275 mm.

[R. 38957] 311. (Ser. III. vol. 6.) Nomina militum, comitatum, civitatum, burgensium burgorum et villarum, et baronum quinque portuum, electorum ad serviendum in Parlamento incipiendo et tenendo apud civitatem Westmonasterii, decimo nono die Maii anno regni regis domini Jacobi secundi primo, annoque Domini 1685.
Pap. 34 ll. 329 × 219 mm.

[R. 38958] 312. (Ser. III. vol. 7.) Miscellanea Genealogica.
Pap. 276 ll. 355 × 226 mm.

[R. 38959] 313. (Ser. III. vol. 8.) Ancient pedigrees.
Pap. 182 ll. 465 × 367 mm.

[R. 38960] 314. (Ser. III. vol. 9.) Rights and Jurisdictions of London.
Pap. 421 ll. 310 × 202 mm.

(Ser. III. vol. 10.) See MS. 221.
(Ser. III. vol. 11.) See MS. 237.

[R. 38962] 315. (Ser. III. vol. 12.) A course of lectures on the Laws of the Forest (in law-French).
Pap. 165 ll. 373 × 268 mm.

[R. 38963] 316. (Ser. III. vol. 13.) Abstracts from parliamentary rolls. 49 H. III-5 H. VI.
Pap. 242 ll. 375 × 225 mm.

[R. 38964] 317. (Ser. III. vol. 14.) Placita coram justiciis itinerantibus H. III, E. I, E. II.—Patent rolls E. IV.
Pap. 341 ll. 346 × 223 mm.

[R. 38965] 318. (Ser. III. vol. 15.) Miscellanea. Abstracts from various charters, rolls and MSS. concerning the history of England.
Pap. 231 ll. 292 × 187 mm.

[R. 38966] 319. (Ser. III. vol. 16.) Miscellanea.
Abstracts from various charters, rolls and MSS. concerning the history of England. Catalogue of the library of Mr. Scipio Squire.
Pap. 143 ll. 349 × 222 mm.

[R. 38967] 320. (Ser. III. vol. 17.) Miscellanea.
Abstracts of various records concerning Wales, Cornwall and the county of Chester.
Pap. 38 ll. 342 × 198 mm.

[R. 38968] 321. (Ser. III. vol. 18.) Earls and Barons from 1066 to 1336.—Dukes, Earls and Barons from 1336 to 1514.
Pap. 174 ll. 280 × 185 mm.

[R. 38969] 322. (Ser. III. vol. 19.) Calendar of Placita coram Rege et de Banco, H. III-H. V.—Calendar of the records in the receipt of the Exchequer.
Pap. 141 ll. 346 × 220 mm.

[R. 38970] 323. (Ser. III. vol. 20.) A repertory of the records in the custody of the chamberlaynes of the Receipt in the Pallace Treasury.
Pap. 41 ll. 310 × 195 mm.

[R. 38971] 324. (Ser. III. vol. 21.) A book of Offices as well of His Majesties courtes of records as of His Highnes most honourable householde, the counsell of the North, of Wales and the Marches, the Admiraltye, the Armorye and the Minte, His Majesties Townes of Warres, Castles, Bulwarkes and fortresses, the Islandes, His Majesties hewses, parkes, forrests and chases with the havens and Harbours of England collected in 1603.
Pap. 47 ll. 287 × 197 mm.

[R. 38972] 325. (Ser. III. vol. 22.) A generall collection of all the offices of Englande with their fees and allowances in the Queenes [Elizabeth] gift. . . .
Pap. 52 ll. 213 × 165 mm.

[R. 38973] 326. (Ser. III. vol. 23.) Questions of Lawe and affaires of state concernyng the Kingdome of Ireland.
Pap. 138 ll. 297 × 200 mm.

[R. 38974] 327. (Ser. III. vol. 24.) Dominium maris Britannici assertum ex archiviis, historiis ac municipalibus Regni legibus, per D. Johannem de Burgo, equitem auratum et archiviorum Regni in Turri Londinensi custodem, etc.
Pap. 38 ll. 309 × 202 mm.

(Ser. III. vol. 25.) Missing. Very likely one of the four MSS. No. 329-332.

[R. 38975] 328. (Ser. III. Vol. 26.) Miscellanea.
Transcripts of some rolls.—Abstracts of Littleton, Donat, etc.—
Fragments of a correspondence of C. Parkin concerning his History of the Antiquities of the county of Norfolk.—
This is the true coppie taken by Sr Symon Dewes out of antient records in the Tower of London of all the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights and gentlemen that were with King Henry the third in France, with King Edward the second at the

siege of Caerlaveroke in Scotland, and with King Henry the fifth at the siege of Roan in France with all their coats of arms.

A bundle of 13 quires of various sizes.

[R. 38976] 329. Coats of arms of the mayors and sheriffs of London from 1190 to 1659.

Pap. 63 ll. 323 × 199 mm.

[R. 38977] 330. Honours magazine or a briefe chronologie of the ancient armes of the Brittaines, Danes, Saxons and Norman Kings with their different supporters and badges of Regality as also of severall degrees of all the nobility of this nation . . . with some observations of their severall places and offices of Honor and Trust and what else is most remarkeable concerning them.

Pap. 219 ll. 387 × 267 mm.

[R. 38979] 331. Rotulus parlamenti tenti apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quinto Ffebruarii anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum XXIII.

Pap. (not bound). 204 ll. 328 × 211 mm.

[R. 38980] 332. Parliamentary rolls. 1, 12, 13, 14, E. IV.

Pap. (not bound). 424 ll. 330 × 210 mm.

SOME NOTES ON THE PREPARATION AND USE OF THE GENERAL CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By GUTHRIE VINE, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the John Rylands Library.

THERE is a more adequate recognition to-day of the difficulties incidental to the construction of a detailed catalogue of a large collection than prevailed seventy years ago when the Report of the "Commissioners appointed to inquire into the constitution and management of the British Museum" was published. This is due in part no doubt to the appearance of that monument of scholarship—the catalogue of the printed books in this national institution. The construction of that vast guide to the world of literature, which owes its inception primarily to Sir Anthony Panizzi, provided a visible demonstration of the scope and effective powers of a catalogue. No catalogue having any pretensions to importance published subsequently can fail to be under great obligations to that of the British Museum, whether the debt be openly admitted or not. The whole of the long series of printed volumes, comprising that great bibliographical work, was already published, when in 1900 the preparation of the supplementary catalogue of the John Rylands Library was on the point of commencement. The original author catalogue of this Library was issued in three volumes in 1899. New works were constantly being added to the Library for which fresh entries were required. With the whole of the British Museum catalogue now available it became a question whether the style of cataloguing should not be approximated more closely than had been possible hitherto to the methods adopted in that authoritative work. It was decided—and the decision has never been regretted—that the British Museum catalogue should henceforth be the standard for the compilation of our own catalogue, and that the code of rules governing its construction should, with certain

exceptions and modifications, form the guide to our own practice. The catalogue of the British Museum, together with the code of rules, has not always being exempt from criticism, but it remains immeasurably superior to any other yet published. Cataloguing is a subject of which it may truly be said: "La critique est aisée, et l'art est difficile".

Reference has already been made to the difficulties attendant on the compilation of the catalogue of any great library. It may be that some indications of a few of more frequent occurrence may be welcome. The catalogue of any important collection will be used by specialists in every branch of knowledge. It must be adequate therefore to meet the requirements of each. The bibliographical information must be exact, whilst, subject to the limitations inherent in its form, a catalogue cannot ignore the latest views on any question of disputed authorship. The extent of the bibliographical details supplied will vary according to circumstances, but in any case the information must be unimpeachable in point of accuracy.

A few examples drawn from the catalogue may serve to illustrate the method of its compilation, and so prove useful to readers in consulting it. In this library, the supplementary catalogue is in two portions: (1) authors, (2) subjects. This arrangement has been preferred to that style of catalogue known as the dictionary catalogue (in which both are combined in a single alphabet) in the belief that the dual form is more intelligible to the average reader. We shall draw attention then first to a few points connected with the author catalogue, and afterwards touch briefly on the subject index.

The primary rule is that a book is entered under the name of the author (or authors), or some substitute for the same. Under this apparently simple rule arise numberless questions which are of almost daily occurrence, occasioned for the most part by uncertainty as to what constitutes the correct form of the name for cataloguing purposes. In the case of writers of the later middle ages, for instance, it is a constant source of perplexity whether a man has a real surname or only attaches an appellative of some kind to his Christian name for purposes of distinction. Robertus Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and John de Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, might be cited as examples. In the case of well-known people it is comparatively easy to decide the question, but in dealing with persons less notable there is often so little

definite information available that one is frequently at a loss as to the correct course to be pursued. Of a similar kind are the difficulties arising in the identification of the early saints, such as may be mentioned in a series like the *Studi e Testi* of the Vatican Library. It must be borne in mind that the writer of an article may hesitate to express an opinion on the identity of a particular martyr and is able to state his reasons at length for such indecision. The compiler of a catalogue is prevented by the form of it from any discussion of the question; his opinion has to be expressed in the definite formula of a heading which gives no indication of the reasons that have led to its adoption. Other individuals of the same name may appear in the catalogue, or the same person may be referred to under different forms of the name. One has merely to suggest these possibilities for it to be seen how many and varied are the problems that may arise in this way alone.

As we have spoken of the saints, it may be useful to point out that saints, popes, sovereigns, and princes of ruling houses are entered under their Christian name, or forename, as well as members of religious orders who by the constitution of the order discard their secular names.

FRANCIS [Xavier] *Saint.* The life and letters of St. Francis Xavier. By Henry James Coleridge. . . . Third edition. [Quarterly Series 4]. *London*, 1902. 2 vols. 8vo.

LOUIS I [de Bourbon] *Prince de Condé.* A Declaration made by the prince of Conde, for to shew and declare the causes, that haue constrained him to take vpon him the defence of the Kinges authoritie of the gouernement of the Queene, and of the quietnes of this Realme. . . . *Printed at London by Roulande Hall, for Edwarde Sutton.* . . . 1562. 8vo.

In cases where an author wishes for some reason or other to disguise his identity, and consequently publishes his work under a pseudonym, or under initials, the principal entry will be found under the pseudonym or initials, whilst a cross reference under the author's name when it is known, will direct the reader to the heading where full information about the book is to be obtained. Such vague designations as Gentleman of Cambridge, Clergyman of the Church of England, Lady, etc., are not regarded as proper pseudonyms, and books on

the title page of which the author is so described are treated as anonymous.

HOPE (Laurence) *pseud.* [i.e. Adela Florence Nicolson]. Stars of the desert. [New impression.] *London*, [1915]. 8vo.

S. N. A concordance to the Holy Scriptures; together with the books of the Apocrypha. . . . By S. N. [i.e. Samuel Newman]. The fourth edition. . . . *Cambridge*, 1698. Fol.

Anonymous books have been responsible for more difficulties, probably, both to the compilers of catalogues and to their users, than any other form of literature. The treatment of them has varied considerably in different libraries; in their endeavours to anticipate the ideas of readers as to the style of heading which should be adopted, librarians have sacrificed consistency of method with a resulting complexity that has only been, after all, productive of bewilderment in the public. In framing the rules on this subject for the John Rylands Library, it was decided to have a very limited number, and that these should be of as natural a character as possible.

One can divide anonymous books conveniently into two main classes: (*a*) those relating to a person, or place, mentioned on the title page; (*b*) all books not relating to a person, or place.

Books belonging to the first class are entered under the name of the person, or place, mentioned on the title page. For all others the first word of the title is taken as the heading if it be a substantive; if it should be an adjective, the first substantive is combined with it.

On one important point our definition of an anonymous book differs from that of the British Museum and some other authorities. If the author's name does not appear on the title page proper, or some secondary title page, the volume is regarded as anonymous as far as the selection of the heading for the main entry is concerned, even though the preface may happen to be signed by the writer. Experience has, we believe, abundantly justified this definition of the term.

HUGH [*of Avalon*] *Saint, Bishop of Lincoln.* Metrical life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. . . . Printed from ms. copies in the British Museum and Bodleian libraries. Edited . . . by . . . J. F. Dimock. . . . *Lincoln*, 1860. 8vo.

LUCKNOW. The defence of Lucknow. A diary recording the daily events during the siege of the European residency, from

31st May to 25th September, 1857. By a staff officer [i.e. Thomas Fourness Wilson]. With a plan of the residency. *London*, 1858. 8vo.

ASIA. Memoirs of the late war in Asia. With a narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of our officers and soldiers; by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment [i.e. William Thomson]. *London*, 1788. 2 vols. 8vo.

DISCOURSE. A discourse against transubstantiation. The fifth edition. [By John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury.] *London*, 1685. 4to.

NATURAL HISTORY. Natural history of enthusiasm. . . . Fifth edition. [By Isaac Taylor.] *London*, 1831. 8vo.

Whilst the compiler of a catalogue is expected to be familiar with the latest views on questions of authorship, it is obvious that the catalogue cannot give endorsement to such opinions unless the evidence appears to be more or less conclusive. The practice of our catalogue is threefold in this respect, according as the evidence for the authorship of an anonymous book is regarded as (1) satisfactory, (2) probable, or (3) a less tenable opinion.

These varying degrees of assent accorded by the catalogue may be exhibited by the following entries :—

(1) MARIANNE. La belle Marianne; a tale of truth and woe. [By Thomas Frognall Dibdin.] *London*, 1824. 8vo.

(2) QUINZE JOIES. Les quinze joies de mariage. [By Antoine de La Sale ?] *Paris*, 1837. 16mo.

In this case the authorship is less certain than in the preceding one, although highly probable.

(3) PEDLAR. The pedlar's prophecy. 1595. [Attributed to Robert Wilson.] [The Malone Society Reprints.] [*Oxford printed.*] 1914. 4to.

In this instance the ascription of authorship to R. Wilson may be regarded as more doubtful than in the previous case.

The question of corporate authorship is one on which a few observations may be useful. Public bodies and associations are considered as the authors of works issued in their name, or under their authority. By this rule the laws and other official documents of a country are catalogued under the name of the country, the bye-laws of

a city under the name of the city, the proceedings of a society under the title of the society, the calendar of a university under the designation of the university. This rule includes too such cases as parish registers, which are entered under the name of the town or village to which they belong.

PORTUGAL. [Laws and other Public Documents.] Portugaliae monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintum decimum iussu Academiae scientiarum Olisiponensis edita. *Olisipone*, 1856 [-97]. 2 vols. Fol.

SOUTHAMPTON. The charters of the borough of Southampton. Edited . . . by H. W. Gidden. [Southampton Record Society.] *Southampton*, 1909-10. 2 vols. 8vo.

BOLNEY, Sussex. The parish registers of Bolney, Sussex. 1541-1812. Edited by Edward Huth. [Sussex Record Society, 15.] (London, 1912.) 8vo.

Under the name of any of the greater countries, or of a large city, there will naturally be a a large assemblage of entries. It becomes necessary in such cases to provide minute subdivisions to render the heading easier to consult. It may be useful to give the main divisions for the heading England in the author catalogue. This serves as a model for all the other countries, with such variations as may be found necessary. It should be added that there are numerous subdivisions to each of the divisions here given. The division Appendix is reserved for collections of works and anonymous books which are not of an official character. For the arrangement of the heading England it is only fitting that our indebtedness to the catalogue of the British Museum should be acknowledged.

Laws and Statutes.
Year Books.
Proclamations.
Treaties and Negotiations with Foreign Powers.
Solemn League and Covenant, 1643.
Miscellaneous Public Documents.
Parliament.
Departments of State and Official Bodies.
Churches and Religious Bodies.
Miscellaneous Subheadings.
Appendix.

Numerous treatises of the greatest importance have never appeared in separate volumes ; they are only to be found in some great collection where they will lie unknown and inaccessible unless their existence is revealed through the agency of the catalogue by means of analytical entries. The extent to which the practice of analysis is carried out may well form the test of the quality of a catalogue. It may be accepted as a general principle that all works of the nature of a Thesaurus require such treatment ; similarly, all volumes composed of a number of papers, essays, etc., will need to be analysed. Analysis will be found in author and subject catalogue alike. Such a set of volumes as the "Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum" of Gallandius will not be of much use to the ordinary reader who may want a treatise of some ecclesiastical writer until separate slips have been made and inserted in the catalogue for each author whose work appears in the collection. Likewise, in the subject catalogue the composite volumes of an essayist such as M. Maeterlinck will need entries under each separate topic if readers are not to miss many valuable articles through the failure of the catalogue to divulge their existence.

We give below two examples of analytical entries (*a*) from the author catalogue, (*b*) from the subject catalogue.

(*a*) SCALA (Rudolf von).

The Greeks after Alexander the Great.—*See* Helmolt (H. F.). The world's history : a survey of man's record. Edited by . . . H. F. Helmolt. . . . With plates and maps. Vol. 5, pp. 1-119. 1907. *London*, 1901-07. 8 vols. 8vo.

(*b*) PALÆOGRAPHY ; Treatises ; English.

Shakespeare (W.) [Appendix.—Particular Topics.—Times of Shakespeare.] Shakespeare's England. An account of the life & manners of his age. [Vol. 1, pp. 284-310. Handwriting. By Sir E. M. Thompson. . . .] [With plates and illustrations.] *Oxford*, 1916 2 vols. 8vo.

The problems of the subject portion of the catalogue are entirely distinct in character from those of the author part. The latter deals with biographical and bibliographical questions—authorship, title, format, editions, etc. The subject index is concerned with the literary contents of a book and its intrinsic qualities. The headings of the author catalogue are decided to a great extent by the title of a work. Anyone

who should attempt to rely merely on the titles of books in constructing the subject index would simply be misleading readers at every turn.

The headings of the subject index are arranged like those of the author catalogue in alphabetical sequence. In many cases they represent the result of prolonged and careful consideration. Alternative forms of heading have been duly examined, and the one which seemed the most correct, or the most inclusive, as the case may seem to require, has at length been selected. In all such instances cross references are provided from the forms which have been rejected to the one eventually chosen, as in analogous cases occurring in the author catalogue.

In some catalogues the rule of specific entry is followed, that is to say, the term of smallest denomination is selected on principle as the heading. In this library no such rule has been adopted. Where it has seemed advisable, there has been no hesitation in admitting class entry. In the subject catalogue utility outweighs all other considerations, but a knowledge of what constitutes utility is only gained by experience based on a wide knowledge of the character of the literature in any given subject. One or two examples will help to illustrate this point more clearly :—

(*a*) Architecture : Particular Topics : Towers.

(*b*) Dead, Disposal of : Sepulchral Monuments and Inscriptions : Brasses.

(*c*) Orders and Ordination : Episcopacy.

(*d*) Psychology : Particular Topics : Laughter.

Some headings, such as Philosophy and (General) Theology, which are of great size on account of the number of entries under them, do not readily admit of division, except chronologically. This form of arrangement, although it partakes necessarily of the arbitrariness of all historical divisions, has been found to answer very satisfactorily in such cases, and may be defended on the grounds that each age has its own methods of stating problems which it solves in its own way.

Many other points will naturally suggest themselves arising out of the foregoing remarks to which no reference has been made. This article does not profess to treat exhaustively any of the questions which have been raised, much less to provide the semblance of a code of rules. The writer, however, will be well content if it should prove helpful to readers desirous of understanding a little better the methods and structure of the catalogue in the John Rylands Library.

COMINCIA LACOMEDIA DI dante alleghieri di fiorenze nella q̃le tracta delle pene et punitioni de uitii et demeriti et premii delle uirtu: Capitolo primo della p̀ma parte de queſto libro loquale ſechiama inferno: nel quale lautore fa probemio ad tucto eltractato del libro:·

NEL mezo delcamin dinr̃a uita
mi trouai puna ſelua oſcura
che la dricta uia era ſmarrita
Et quanto adir q̃lera coſa dura
eſta ſelua ſeluagia aſpra eforte
che nel penſier renoua la paura
Tante amara che pocho piu morte
ma pertractar del ben chio uitrouai
diro dellatre coſe chi uo ſcorte
I non ſo ben ridir come uentrai
tantera piena diſonno inſuquil punto
che la uerace uia abandonai
Ma poi che fui appie dum colle gionto
ladoue terminaua quella ualle
che mauea dipaura el cor compuncto
Guardai inalto et uidde le ſuoe ſpalle
ueſtite gia deraggi del pianeta
che mena dricto altrui perogni calle
Allor fu la paura un pocho cheta
che nellaco del cor mera durata
la nocte chio paſſi contanta pieta.

DANTE: "COMMEDIA". FOLIGNO, 1472.
(From the copy in the John Rylands Library.)